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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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19 June 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ACADEMICIAN ON TRUE FREEDOM OF BELIEF IN CSSR

AU051015 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 May 84 p 5

[Article by Professor, Doctor of Philosophy, Engineer Jaroslav Celko, Candidate of Sciences, of the Institute of Scientific Atheism attached to the Slovak Academy of Sciences: "Religion and Churches in the Socialist State"--passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Excerpts] Each state necessarily creates its own relationship with all the currents of ideas that exist within its framework. At the same time it creates the appropriate instruments for the immediate direction, guidance, or unavoidable control of institutions that, in the context of particular currents of ideas, constitute themselves and are active. This also applies of course to the sphere of the state's relationship with religion and the churches.

In dealing with this matter, the state does not proceed arbitrarily. Here too it always proceeds in harmony with its class essence and its fundamental task. Experience shows that states of identical type have chosen several courses of action.

The class solution of the state's relationship with the Weltanschauung, ideological platforms and so forth, proceeds from certain objective laws, while necessarily respecting and asserting the interests of the ruling class (eventually its allies).

/The proponents of Marxist-Leninist teaching, proceeding from the objective dialectics of social development, do not deny the class character of the solution of the relationship of the socialist state toward non-Marxist currents of ideas, including religion./ They do not do this because this fact cannot be concealed anyway, but do it with the objective of enabling broad popular masses to correctly comprehend the essence of our society and the ongoing changes in it.

/In the socialist state a qualitatively different type of democracy from that in the capitalist state is applied. What is involved here is a socialist democracy which, as a specific system with the organization and practical realization of political power under the leadership of the workers class, headed by the Communist Party, ensures the comprehensive participation of the working masses in the resolution of all the problems of society./ That

means that broad democracy is also applied in the sphere of cultural life. In relationship with our problems this fact is manifested in the fact that non-Marxist idea platforms are overcome by means of positive ways and not repression, or an overt or covert oppression of their bearers. That means, among other things, that the efforts to release people from the influence of religious notions are carried out--as K. U. Chernenko has said--"exclusively by ideological [ideovymi], profoundly humane and democratic means--by upbringing, persuasion, and education."

Already the first steps of the socialist revolution, which mean the changes in the correlation of power, are accompanied by tangible shifts in the consciousness of the popular masses. A great part of workers and other working people adopt new ideological and political views much more quickly during a revolution than in "peaceful" times. At the same time, however, the same people bring from capitalism to the socialist state a legacy whose content does not correspond to the new social needs. In addition, a part of society, especially the members of the former ruling strata as well as a part of the working people who remain temporarily under their influence, obstruct the new currents of ideas, and they cling to the old views more or less tenaciously. As a consequence of the influence of various factors, religion and institutions connected with it--churches and other elements--are thus relayed into the socialist state.

The socialist state does not ignore these facts. And since it represents democracy for the broad masses of the working people, it resolves its relationship with nonrevolutionary systems of ideas in such a way as to be in harmony with the set objectives and tasks in the sphere of social changes on the one hand, and as will at the same time create the appropriate scope for satisfying the spiritual needs of all citizens on the other.

In our country, the complex problems in the sphere of superstructure began to be resolved immediately following the February victory of the working people. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, which has always paid great attention to working people who are believers, freedom of belief was not only proclaimed without delay, but it also began to be implemented. In its sense every citizen is free to profess the religion of his choice, but is able not to and need not profess any religion, which is what the proponents of the scientific Weltanschauung are also doing. In harmony with that, our new state has guaranteed the activity of churches and religious organizations, oriented toward satisfying the religious needs of citizens, and at the same time has also ensured with appropriate laws the material conditions for this their activity.

It is 35 years since the adoption of the "church-political" laws (this is what they are called in practice). Thus, we can assess what results our state has achieved as regards its relationship with religion and the churches.

There is, above all, the fact that the /Marxist-Leninist principle of the equality of all citizens of our socialist state--those professing the scientific Weltanschauung and also the religious believers--is being consistently implemented./

Appropriate conditions have been created for satisfying the religious needs of its citizens-believers. The situation is unequivocal--the believers have sufficient opportunities, whether by participating in undertakings organized by churches, or by living religious private lives, and in this way satisfying their needs. The aforementioned economic ensurance of the churches' activities is one of the important prerequisites for the pursuit religious life, which sincere citizens of this state can in no way ignore. It is quite proper to point out that our /socialist state creates conditions for satisfying the real, and on this basis justified needs./ The excessive demands, put forward in particular by the "secret church" (which is almost always in pursuit of the clericalization of our life, that is, political objectives), which do not take into consideration the results of the secularization process, the deepening changes in social consciousness, are aimed against our socialist system, and at the same time have nothing in common with the real interests of citizens-believers.

On the basis of many factors we come to the conclusion that the /overwhelming majority of religious believers in our country accept and assess positively the application of the principles of the freedom of belief by our socialist state./ Here, too, the best indication is their active participation in building real socialism.

In connection with the principle that religion should be a man's private matter vis-a-vis the state, V.I. Lenin required that "...any mention about a particular religious belief of the citizens must be unconditionally struck from official documents." At first glance it might seem that what is involved here is a matter of formal character. But this is not so. It is attested to by many facts, including religious wars (we are not talking about their material background now) which history has recorded and which exist--no matter how paradoxical it might be--also in our times. The deeper significance of this requirements, which our state realized in the first half of the fifties, is attested to by our positive experience. This measure, as a part of the overall endeavor for a correct solution of our state's relationship with religion and the churches, resulted in the elimination of the religious differences that had existed in our country in times past [kedysi] and that were poisoning the coexistence among people with different religious affiliations. /And this has definitely contributed--along with the equality between those who profess the scientific Weltanschauung and believers--to deepening the political-ethical unity of all its citizens./

Our socialist state does not force the Marxist-Leninist Weltanschauung upon anyone. It does, however, create conditions--on the basis of a consistent application of the method of persuasion--so that all citizens can adopt it. That means that it behaves identically toward atheists and religious believers, without differentiating between them. That, too, is namely one of the ways of applying the principle of equality to all citizens. If the socialist state left the believers outside the sphere of its activity oriented toward forming social consciousness on a scientific basis, it would discriminate against them. And that is, as we already said, alien to its essence and mission.

As regards the forming of the consciousness of its citizens, the socialist state in no way keeps its objectives and efforts secret. It has no reason to do so. After all, the effort to make each citizen to adopt the /scientific Weltanschauung/ is in the interest of society as well as in the interest of each individual. And as regards the believers, /there is no struggle against them, but for them, "for their truly humane, and not illusory life,"/ as K. U. Chernenko has said.

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POLAND

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS REPORT TO 16TH CC PLENUM

AU120730 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Jun 84 pp 5, 6, 7

[Council of Ministers report read by Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda at the 16th Central Committee Plenum in Lodz on 2 June]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades! The Politburo Report discussed and justified the role of the working class in the party and the basic sphere of our state life. It is my task to try and present the significance of the working class in the implementation of economic targets.

We are living and working in conditions which are still difficult. Restoring the full stability of the economy, including market equilibrium, will still require time and a great effort. We have now entered the second year of implementing the national socioeconomic plan for 1983-1985. This plan, which takes into account internal and external conditions, is of key importance for achieving this stability.

The economic situation and results for 1983 were discussed at a national conference of PZPR delegates in March. Allow me to recall only what is most important.

The fundamental achievement of the past year was the stopping of the downward trends which existed in our economy for several years, and the appearance of a clear growth in the national income and material production. We achieved a 5-percent growth in the national income and industrial production went up by 6.7 percent, considerably exceeding the targets envisaged under the plan. There was a growth in vegetable production. Tension decreased on the internal market. The regression in housing construction was halted. All in all, we made undeniable progress.

However, alongside the unquestionable positive aspects, many negative phenomena also continued to exist. They included a lack of sufficient progress in curbing inflation, investment outlay overruns, and a low or even deteriorating quality of goods.

The results for the first 4 months and the preliminary data for May enable one to make a preliminary assessment of the trends currently occurring in the economy in 1984. During this period, the economic situation was characterized by the following phenomena; I shall list only the most important of them. The growth

rate of industrial production was virtually maintained and amounted in the 4 months to 4.3 percent as compared with the 4.5-5 percent envisaged under the central annual plan. The monetary income of the population went up by 20.1 percent and the average monthly salary rose by as much as 24.8 percent, thus by much more than envisaged in the provisions of the central annual plan.

In agriculture, the number of livestock, especially cattle, is gradually being restored.

In foreign trade, exports went up by 12 percent and imports by 5.5 percent. However, the rate of growth of exports to the second area of payments, especially of electrical products, was insufficient. Preliminary data for May confirm that that the trends up to now are continuing. The still existing disproportion between the size of material production and the amount of money appearing on the market is unfavorable and makes it difficult to achieve equilibrium. A lack of market equilibrium means, in turn, lesser motivation to work, to be active in the production and social sphere. In this way the circle closes. It is in our hands, mainly in the hands of work forces, to cut it open. Let me try to justify this thesis.

Working on the plan for 1983-1985 we based its construction on two programs which represent, as it were, its two pillars: an anti-inflation program and an economics program. I would like to recall that these programs were subjected to wide-scale social consultation and were also submitted for an assessment by the working class. They were the subject of a national conference of workers' activists in March of last year. A large number of proposals was made at the conference which enriched the final version of the two programs and which the Sejm adopted in April 1983 together with the 1983-1985 National Socioeconomic Plan. These programs define the activities and measures aimed at effective management. Favorable conditions for such activities are created by the principles of the economic reform. However, it depends on the everyday work of people, the quality of this work, good economic thinking and activities whether they will be put to proper use.

How is the implementation of these programs proceeding? What results have we attained. What are the good and bad experiences? The following are the main directions of action adopted in the anti-inflation plan: to increase the production of market goods and services: not to issue payments for insufficient work contribution and quality; to limit the growth of retail prices, especially for basic foodstuffs; to adapt social benefits to the capabilities of the economy; to step up the struggle against speculation and abuses.

I would like to dwell on each issue in turn.

Increased production of goods and services. The program envisaged that during a period of 3 years the increase in market supplies would amount to 21-21.5 percent, the increase in industrial goods being 27.5-30 percent. Calculating in fixed prices, market supplies last year went up by 7.6 percent, of which supplies of nonfoodstuffs by approximately 12 percent. The production of many goods has now reached or has been brought much closer to the level of production in 1979 when the market situation was relatively stable. This applies to such

products as, for instance, cement, washing machines, spin-dryers, automatic washing machines, soap, leather footwear, the supplies of which were even over 20 percent higher than in 1979. I could cite further positive examples of this kind. But there are products which are still, unfortunately, a long way away from the level of 1979. A typical example here are the supplies of many light industry products which dropped enormously in 1980-1982. As a result of this, although there were 25 percent more cotton fabrics and knitted goods in 1983 than in the previous year, this was only 37 percent of the supplies in 1979. Also, although the supplies of woolen fabrics did go up by 50 percent in 1983, this represented only 68 percent of the level of 1979. This state of affairs in the entire light industry, and not just the light industry, was caused by the sudden reduction in working hours and reduced employment.

We are thus now left with having to make up the existing distance persistently and laboriously in order to reach the level we were at before. One must be aware at the same time that we are reaching this level in a situation that is considerably more difficult than during the past decade. In order to improve the situation in the light industry the government adopted Resolution No 88 in 1983 which went half way to meet the postulates put forward at the national conference of workers' activists, among others by Comrades Janusz Deska from Czestochowa and Janina Perkowska from Szczecin. Appropriate preferences for the light industry were created. This made it possible to exceed considerably the targets for the market supplies of this industry envisaged under the plan in 1983 and created conditions for the further growth of production this year.

In order to create conditions for increased market supplies this year the government has considerably expanded the range of government orders to a total of 29 items. The signing of such a contract guarantees for the enterprises the necessary level of material supplies for production needs and creates more favorable conditions for their implementation. Unfortunately, not all the contracts have been signed at the level envisaged in the annual plan and in several cases they are still being concluded. Some producers use the position of a monopolist in an impermissible way. What else can one call cases in which enterprises forced domestic trade units to insert in already concluded contracts relevant clauses constituting a requisite for them to implement the contract. Thus, for example, in the shoe industry, the "Podhale" plant in Nowy Targ and the "Chelmek" plants in Chelmek, Chelm, and Bedzin arranged for the inclusion in contracts of the following:

--Supplies of footwear of below-standard quality should be included when calculating the value of orders;

--Punishment for poor quality must be eased;

--Other types of footwear than those contained in the contract will be permitted.

Naming such conditions is reprehensible and must meet suitably strong reaction in the future.

Unfortunately, discrepancies are not limited to government orders.

The reasons for the discrepancies between the tasks defined in the Central Annual Plan and the plans of enterprises are various, and the possibilities for removing them are also various. In many justified cases, help is given by increasing supplies of materials and foreign currency, and by granting certain concessions. However, a range of discrepancies can be eliminated by making better use of resources inside the enterprises themselves. It is on the mobilization of these reserves that we are principally counting on. Liberating reserves depends on the work forces, on their managements, and on the initiative of workers themselves. A tangible improvement in market supplies depends, above all, on your work.

I would like to recall that production growth in 1983 was primarily responsible for the settlement of problems concerning supplies and the continuity of sales of some market products, for instance, soap, detergent, leather and imitation leather footwear, glass products, artificial fertilizers, a number of machines and agricultural tools. We can expand this sphere this year. There should be further perceptible improvement in such groups of products as, for instance, rubber and sports footwear, men's clothing, tires, popular batteries, razors, window panes, domestic electrical appliances, a number of toiletries and additional farming equipment.

The correct policy of pay formation was to play a particularly great role in the anti-inflation plan. Since 1 January 1982 enterprises have been determining independently the amounts of money intended for salaries depending on their financial capabilities. In 1983 in industry when production went up by almost 6-7 percent and work productivity by 8.2 percent, the average pay rose by 27.5 percent. Bearing in mind these incorrect tendencies, and in order to prevent an increase in remuneration without a growth of work productivity and improved effectiveness of management, the system of the allocation of money for the vocational incentives fund was amended. It is true that the increased stringency of these allocations might in some cases have indeed been too great in relation to the situation of certain enterprises. It is also true that the changes introduced did not take fully into account the facts which have now taken place and the differences in the capabilities of various enterprises. It is not possible for economic instruments to be adapted to the specific nature of every individual case. But one has to admit that because of the speed of the changes made to the mechanism of the State Vocational Activization Fund [PFAZ], the economic instruments were not submitted to a sufficiently deep analysis, and practice has shown that the instruments were not precise enough. Nevertheless, the universal phenomenon this year of applying for relief in contributions to the Vocational Activization Fund has in many cases no rational justification.

For example, out of 770 plants in the metal and machine industries, 540 plants applied for relief, of which only about 100 had a valid reason. Out of 450 plants in the chemical and light industries that applied for relief, only 70 had justified reasons.

For obvious reasons, it is impossible to describe in detail every case of such conduct.

I will give a few examples to illustrate correct and incorrect wages policy.

Here are some enterprises where productivity rose faster than average wages during the first quarter of the year:

	<u>Productivity</u> (in percent)	<u>Average Wages</u>
Radom Medal Products Plant	125.1	124.2
Pabianice First Aid Supplies Plant	122.5	111.0
"Opolanka" Knitwear Plant	129.8	121.0
"Nysa" Van Factory	127.6	119.3
"Rafamet" Lathe Plant in Kuznia Raciborska	133.9	125.6

And now examples of enterprises where these figures were exceptionally unfavorable:

	<u>Productivity</u> (in percent)	<u>Average Wages</u>
"Organika" Chemical Plant, Zarow	86.9	133.6
"Lugamet" Technical Products and Metal Jewelry Plant, Lubliniec	95.0	126.2
"Agromet" Plock	83.5	149.3
"Pafawaq" Wroclaw	82.6	118.5

These figures need no explanation, and I believe that even if explanations behind the above cases begin to be made today, the facts will remain.

Monetary-market equilibrium is the result of facts such as the above, regardless of their subjective or objective causes.

If, until the end of this year, wages continue to rise faster than productivity, the finances of the enterprises in question will be affected unfavorably, and the enterprises will risk losing their credit rating.

Hence, I would like to ask collectives and managements in enterprises to count less on applications for concessions being approved, and more on working out essential features and shaping proper economic relations using their own resources, even though every application for concessions will be carefully examined.

You will forgive me, comrades, for reminding you yet again that every price reduction or subsidy brings into circulation a certain amount of inflationary money and thus works against the achievement of market equilibrium.

One way of improving economic relationships is the possibility of introducing factory wage systems which are based on the principles contained in the decree on this matter which was passed by the Sejm on 26 January. The principles contained in this decree--if a number of fundamental conditions are fulfilled in the sphere of streamlining management organization--make possible the independent linking of earnings with the results of labor within the framework of the financial resources that have been built up. Meanwhile, it emerges from analyses carried out in 21 voivodships that there is a very varying

degree of interest in the new earnings system among factory work forces. Many workers' collectives, after learning that the new principles do not guarantee an automatic wages increase, do not display any great interest in a change in the earnings system. This was the case, among others, at the "Elmor" ship electric installations and automation factory. There are also cases where factory managements are not interested in the introduction of new wages principles, and there are various reasons for this. For instance, the management of the Polam lighting equipment factory in Radom considers that it should obtain some relief money to cover the financial effects resulting from an increase in earnings. The management of the Warsaw welding equipment factory maintains that the inclusion of compensation in earnings has such a marked effect on costs that the consequences of this undertaking should be spread out over a period of time.

One of the features permitting an individual growth of wages within the new wages system is the organization of workers into teams, which is widely practiced in other countries, especially the USSR. Right now, about 50 percent of those employed in Soviet industry are working in organizational work units (production brigades).

Experience shows that of the many solutions being implemented in Poland the greatest effectiveness as regards the activities of teams is achieved in conditions where a self-financing system is introduced at the brigade level. This means that tasks are set, the resources needed to implement these tasks are determined, and the team is evaluated according to the results it achieves. And in turn the team itself assesses the contribution made by individual workers in the implementation of a task and shares out wages and bonuses according to this task. This form of labor organization creates in a team a certain kind of self-discipline, creates conditions for improving the results that are achieved and as a consequence leads to an increase in earnings. Also, it is instrumental in improving the organization of supplies and the preparation of work places. In a nutshell, it streamlines the organization of labor in other sections and, as a result, in the whole enterprise.

In Poland too, certain enterprises are undertaking pilot schemes for the introduction of the team system. Here I can mention the "VIS" Tool Industry Combine, the Bumar-Labeda Plant, and the Lstalowa Wola Steelworks. This system, which fits in well with our systematic solutions, should be introduced in all enterprises where the right conditions for it exist. Work forces, self-management bodies, and factory managements should be interested in this.

The increase in prices for goods, among other things is one of the matters which gives rise to particularly great anxiety and controversy. This is understandable if we recall that for some years now we have had in Poland an economically and socially harmful race between the increase in the monetary incomes of the population and price increases. In 1983, monetary incomes of the population went up by 25 percent and retail prices by 23 percent. Compared to 1983, the increase in incomes by 20 percent and that of prices by 14.9 percent in the first 4 months of this year is markedly lower. Despite this fact, this is often lost sight of, the rate at which the monetary incomes of the population has been going up since April has been greater than that envisaged in the annual plan whereas the price increases have been lower than those envisaged in the plan.

The official prices of food and the supply prices for fuels, energy, and a number of raw materials were raised this year. This was connected with the need to restrict shortages and subsidies and to make internal prices more in line with world market prices. This is also connected with the expediency of creating conditions for the rational and thrifty management of food, fuel, and raw and other materials needed for production purposes.

However, many enterprises have at the same time begun to exploit the increase in official prices, and, in particular, in supply prices, as a pretext for considerable and unjustified increases in the prices of their own products. This has engendered understandable dissatisfaction among working people. But let us say clearly that it has often been the case that those who express outrage over prices increases for goods they produced themselves. In the majority of cases the stance of workers' collectives and of self-managements is the same as the stance of an enterprise's management which often attempts by using the easiest method--that is, by hoisting up prices--to ensure support for the vital interests of its work force.

The government has begun the necessary activities to bring unjustified price increases under control. With this end in mind, checks were carried out in the first quarter of 1984 in over 600 economic units, to see how prices are fixed. Irregularities were determined in 170 cases.

An unjustifiably high level of costs was noted in the Bydgoszcz Cavle Factory and the Siemianowice Screw and Rivet Factory, among other places. The resulting profits which these two enterprises had to pay to the state budget together with their fines amount to over Z22 million.

As a whole the units that were checked were forced to reduce the prices of 560 articles and the financial effects of these reductions should be more than Z200 million.

Apart from the normal checks that are being carried out all the time into the principles governing the fixing and application of prices, special checks have been introduced as from April of this year to make sure that the ban on increasing negotiated prices for industrial market goods by more than 10 percent is being observed. This is in accordance with the Council of Ministers resolution adopted on 30 March.

Here are some of the results of these checks:

--The Table Porcelain Plant in Tulowice raised the prices of 132 various products by an average of 25 percent even though there were no increased production costs outside the enterprise's control;

--The Piotrkow Furniture Plant raised the price of 10 types of furniture by an amount ranging from 14.9 to 26.1 percent;

--The Lodz Furniture Factory raised the prices of furniture units by an amount ranging from 21 to 26.1 percent. Such a price increase was caused by the fixing of a new profit margin by the factory, from the old 10 percent to a new level of 35 percent;

--The Enamel Ware Factory in Olkusz raised the prices of 151 enamel vessels and those of 101 aluminium vessels by an average of 20 percent;

--The "Pollena" plant in Nowy Dwor introduced new prices for detergents, over 10 percent above the old ones. Some prices were even raised by 30 percent;

--The "Pasanil" Hosiery Plant in Gdansk commenced selling goods at higher prices on 4 April without preparing a report justifying their increase. Some 141 prices were raised by an amount ranging from 10 to 34 percent;

--The "Izis" cooperative in Warsaw raised the prices of six of their cosmetic creams by about 30 percent on 7 April. For example, the price of hand cream rose from Z45 to Z65;

--The price hikes made by the "Lido" Knitwear Plant in Lodz even reached 44 percent;

--The "Celma" Plant in Cieszyn, a well-known manufacturer of electric tools, can also be included among the above "record setters." Within the space of 1 month, this plant was able to raise the price of drills from Z3,950 to Z5,850, in other words, by almost 50 percent.

In all cases of violations the enterprises returned to their previous prices as a result of the checks or raised them by a maximum of 10 percent. As regards the people guilty of violating the principles governing the formation of prices, personnel sanctions have been taken in the shape of dismissal, reprimands, rebukes and withdrawal of bonuses. This is how we shall continue to act in the future as well.

There are also, and this needs stressing, examples of enterprises which managed to keep the retail prices of their products stable despite an increase in wholesale prices. For example, the "Zelmech-Domgos" Electrical Appliance Plant in Myslowice has had stable prices since 1982. The "Domgos" plant in Czestochowa, the Baby Carriage Plant in Poraj, and the "Elektromet" cooperative in Bielsko-Biala can also boast about stable prices. Enterprises which conduct a correct price policy also include the People's Army Cotton Plant in Lodz, "Sigmatex" in Piotrkow Trybunalski, the "Wrozamet" Heating Equipment Plant in Wroclaw, the Radio Plant in Dzierzonow, and many others.

The necessary steps taken by the government regarding these matters do not always meet with approval. On the one hand, the view is expressed that the ban on price rises has been introduced too late and on too small a scale. On the other hand, the objection is raised that this kind of interference in the activities of enterprises represents a departure from the principles of the reform and makes rational management difficult. The best solution would be, of course, and I think will be, to find the right compromise between the need to protect the living standards of the population and taking into consideration the economic account which shows that price rises are unavoidable and necessary in certain cases. The government is counting here on the broad support of work forces, on a responsible attitude on the part of all collectives, including collectives of those enterprises whose price-fixing policy has so far had nothing in common with correctly conceived workers' and national interests.



In the course of the discussion on the anti-inflation program, also at the national conference of workers' activists, a dozen or so representatives of various enterprises and groups of workers sharply criticized the widescale use of various kinds of supplementary payments, privileges, and allowances of goods. They exist in a number of sectors and professions and assume various forms; for instance: coal, firewood, electricity, lamp oil, free cinema tickets, sugar, bread, matches, meat, fish, China, and the like.

The pressure exerted to extend these privileges was particularly high in 1980-1981. Taking into account government and social criticism of this phenomenon, in a July 1983 resolution the Sejm suspended the right to grant new allowances of goods and other benefits in various professions.

In light of this, how is one to see the demands from the open cast mine producing raw materials for road construction in Bedzin for the extension of the rights arising from the miner's charter? In particular, how is one to understand the 17 May 1984 resolution of the independent self-governing trade unions of the quarry industry to hold a referendum on a protest and strike action? What is most astonishing, however, is that this is not a matter of privileges for the workers as a whole, but of extending them considerably to the administration, auxiliary services, and so on.

Thus, it is not the kind of work performed that is to decide the remuneration, but the affiliation to a certain profession or enterprises. Arguments were amassed, of course; for instance, that there is a similar situation in other professions or enterprises. But, esteemed comrades, is it a matter of extending something that is wrong? This is not, unfortunately, an isolated case. Recently I received almost the same demand from the workers' council at the construction stone combine in Krakow.

I have presented this issue in relatively great detail to illustrate by specific example how often it is difficult to carry into effect the principle that words and deeds are one.

Comrade Porebski talked in the Politburo report about speculation, the dangerous and negative social phenomenon. This phenomenon manifests itself differently in the various enterprises, but is equally harmful from the social points of view. The losses suffered by the national economy as a result of various kinds of breaches of financial discipline, striking cases of poor management, wastefulness and downright theft, call for more severe and uncompromising measures, especially at work enterprises.

Here are only a few such examples:

--at the "Paris Commune" industrial plant in Radomsk, galvanized cable--assembled on the floor without a protective layer--was covered in a chemical that destroyed the zinc outer layer. The losses resulting from having to downgrade this galvanized cable to a household cable amounted to over Z20 million.

--At the "Ozarow" cement works, a group of workers stole 324 metric tons of cement, in other words, about 10 wagonloads, in order to sell it to private cement works. Nine persons were accused in connection with this by the prosecutor's office.

In the first quarter alone, financial control organs uncovered losses in inspected units of the socialized economy amounting to over Z140 million which had been caused by poor management and waste. The increasing number of unjustified links between units of the socialized economy and the private sector is also troubling. Financial checks carried out in this sphere have revealed that supplies, services, and work done by the non-socialized sector in 19 enterprises of the metallurgical and machine engineering industry that were inspected, had risen from Z20 million in 1981 to Z110 million in 1982 and to almost Z100 million in the first 6 months of 1983. Checks have also revealed that some units of the socialized economy made purchases in the private sector in quantities that would meet needs over the period of many years, thus augmenting superfluous and excessive reserves.

Cases were ascertained of a failure to carry out certain work through one's own resources, in spite of the existing capabilities, and commissioning the private sector to do it at a higher cost and also of applying lowered prices and invoicing supplies and services in quantities lower than those actually carried out.

In the category of crimes concerning poor management, prosecution bodies uncovered 209 such cases in 1983. This does not correspond to the community's idea about the actual scale of these crimes and shows that only a small number of them are being uncovered and that the organs of internal and external control of enterprises and institutions set up to deal with this are not sufficiently active. The prosecutor's office and all the competent government bodies which are coordinated by the Council of Ministers' Committee on Law, Public Order and Social Discipline Observance, have undertaken widescale, intensive activities. We try to supply public opinion with up-to-date exports on the results.

However, tangible progress in combatting the abovementioned phenomena requires participation by the whole of society.

For we cannot tolerate a deep conspiracy to conduct economic mispractices. Are they not visible in the lives of enterprises? Where and whom should one ask why and in whose interest such conduct occurs? Why are such phenomena often undiscovered and not energetically opposed?

Effective battle against these negative and often criminal practices requires boldness and dedication, especially by the workers class and all working people.

An issue of fundamental significance on which national economic development depends is the correct settlement of problems connected with the supplies of raw materials and other materials. The power- and material-consumption of production have not and are not the forte of the Polish economy. For instance, in 1981, Hungarians needed 70 percent and the GDR economy under 80 percent of the power used in Poland to produce the same unit of the national income.

Taking the above into account, the national socioeconomic plan for 1983-1985 provides for a 14- to 16-percent growth of industrial production and at the same time only a 7- to 9-percent growth of supplies of raw and other materials. This means that almost 50 percent of the growth of industrial production should be achieved as a result of a more effective utilization of the existing resources.

This is a condition necessary to achieve an essential, albeit moderate, economic development growth.

We are aware that the savings program is being implemented under complicated conditions and during deep economic disequilibrium. The consequences of this are twofold.

First, there is a negative consequence. There is a lack of consumer (market) pressure on the level of prices and production costs, which does not encourage enterprises to conduct efficient management;

Second, a positive consequence. The shortage of many materials and components, especially imported ones, has created the need to make savings and seek substitute materials.

This positive trend, plus the systemic economic solutions, could not offset the negative effects of the lack of equilibrium, in other words, they could not offset the lack of a strong economic pressure to make management more effective. Therefore, the fact that under these exceptionally difficult and complicated economic and sociopolitical conditions we have made clear progress as far as the rational and economic use of fuels, energy, and raw materials is concerned deserves praise. This fact is confirmed by the results contained in the "Concise Assessment of the Implementation of the 1983 Savings Program" which you comrades have received today.

I will merely recall that in 1983 the materials intensiveness of industrial production fell by 2.6 percent, which is 0.5 percent more than the annual drop foreseen in the savings program. Also, the reduction in fuel consumption per person was almost four times larger than the amount foreseen.

Because of this we have achieved in Poland a reduction in the consumption of fuels equivalent to, for instance, about 12 million metric tons of hard coal worth more than \$500 million in export terms, or roughly more than 7 million metric tons of crude oil worth more than \$1.5 billion. The savings program has taken into account many of the proposals put forward at the national conference of the workers' aktiv. A number of these are already in the process of being implemented.

For example, the proposal by Janusz Deska from Czestochowa that competitions should be held involving the saving of materials, energy, and fuels, or the proposal by Jerzy Krajniewski from Bydgoszcz that gasoline-powered vehicles should gradually be withdrawn and replaced by ones burning oil.

As a result of what has been achieved so far, about 40 percent of the achieved increase in national income was due to the more effective exploitation of material resources. However, these results should not be overestimated. They were achieved mainly by taking advantage of simple reserves which did not require any great financial outlay and which often were forcibly brought about as a result of administrative steps. The opportunities for taking advantage of reserves of this type will be fewer with the passage of time. A further reduction in the amount of materials and energy consumed now often requires a modernization in manufactured goods and technological processes.

I think that you comrades will be interested in the positive examples achieved last year as regards savings.

--The "Hutmen" plant in Wroclaw has commenced the production of cadmium adhesive and has produced 165 metric tons of it, bringing savings of 64 metric tons of tin;

--The "Ursus" truck plant has saved Z827 million, mainly thanks to a reduction in the usage of materials;

--The "Nowotko" plant has achieved savings of about Z84 million by cutting down on fuel and energy consumption;

--The Marchlewski Plant in Lodz has rationalized its consumption of materials and fuels and thus saved Z18 million;

--The "Lentex" plant in Lublin has saved over Z14 million and over \$200,000 by reducing materials consumption and altering its technology and management methods;

--The "Mostostal" Central Metal Construction Research and Development Center has developed a new way of constructing steel structures. The result is that an average of 40 percent less steel can be used in such construction, and that the volume of foundations can be reduced by an average of 70 percent.

The "Mostostal" plant in Chojnice has commenced production of these constructions. The results achieved by one plant can be doubled many times over if other producers follow suit.

One can give more such examples of an active and successful implementation of the savings program. But the situation in many enterprises is different unfortunately.

Here are just some glaring examples of ignoring the savings program, waste of valuable materials, and unnecessary costs:

--Plant No 5 of the "Prefabet" Cement Enterprise in Pulawy is producing cellular concrete by the ash method. Ash is supposed to be conveyed to the plant through a pipeline from a neighboring power station belonging to the Nitrogen Plant in Pulawy. But because of the pipeline's inefficiency, since 1981 the plant has had to use more energy-and-materials-intensive methods, in other words, shipping ash by air from a power station in Kozienice 59 km away.

--The "Ustianov" Timber Works in Ustrzyki Dolne produces floor tiles from first and second class beech instead of from third class beech. In this way it used up over 3,000 cubic meters of timber. Out of this timber one could have produced about 1,000 cubic meters of furniture components, for whose production beech is often imported.

--The permissible amount of paper for producing 1,000 16-page notebooks is 38.7 kg, but the Kluczew Paper Plant uses 39.6 kg, and the Wloclawek Cellulose Plant uses as much as 45.1 kg.

--The "Mystal" Metallurgical Plant in Myszkow produces steel sheeting with a mass of 490 kg. After processing by the "Prasomat" automatic press plant, the mass of finished steel parts consists of 165 kg. This means that almost 70 percent of the material is turned into metal filings.

--The "Poreba" Mechanical Equipment Plant in Zawiercie bought a large quantity of clamps from the FRG in 1980 and 1981 with which to mark electric cables. There are 150,000 of these clamps currently in stock which should be enough to last 250 years.

Left over material is not recorded and sorted in many textile plants. Cases have been noted where residue material has been thrown out onto the garbage dump. For example:

--The M. Fornalska Clothing Corporation in Lodz has had about 7 metric tons of residue material, mainly cotton, disposed of by the urban cleaning enterprise.

--The J. Lewartowski Footwear Plant in Lodz throws out 29 metric tons of residue material per year.

--In the Wroclaw Building Enterprise, it was determined that only 44.9 percent of used glass was reused in making new windows.

--In the "Mostostal" Light Steel Construction Plant in Siedlce, there were in March 1983 1,371 metric tons of metal products in storage with a total value of Z27.6 million. They had not been used for at least 1 year.

--In the "Mozostal" enterprise in Zabrze, 18 metric tons of metal rods, 200 metric tons of metal hoops, and 14 metric tons of cable were discovered to be in such a state of corrosion that they were either useless or could not be made usable without time-consuming work.

The above examples of poor management, and I would go as far as to say irresponsibility, testify at the same time to the scale of the potential reserves and to how much still remains to be done in the sphere of switching to pro-savings thinking and activities.

Against this background, esteemed comrades, I would like to touch on one of the most important but at the same time one of the most difficult social problems to solve, the problem of housing construction.

The amount of dwellings being built--which is inadequate as regard needs--is well known to everyone. But not everyone is sufficiently aware of the fact that the main reason for this is the amount of construction materials which we have available in Poland. From all voivodships we get reports all the time about shortages of rolled metal products, sheet metal, roofing materials, cables, fixtures, finishing materials, and so on. Contrary to what is commonly believed, distribution, in which people see the main reason for the shortages, is the least important matter here. Quite simply there are not enough of these materials. First, we produce too little of these materials in relation to needs, and, second, we are exceptionally wasteful in using them.

One of the effects of the fact that, during the design stage, we do not take into account the amount of materials and energy that are going to be consumed is, for example, that the consumption of steel for each square meter of living space in some buildings is 42 kilos, whereas in others it is only 26 kilos. Often, once building work is completed, temporary networks of electric cables and water pipes are left in the ground without being salvaged. The reserves as regards material savings are exceptionally large and exploitable and can be achieved by improving design work and having the correct construction organization and technology and also through having normal good management attributed to good craftsmen.

If, for instance, in the whole of the construction industry one square meter of living space--and, after all, the consumption of materials accounts for half of this--could cost the lowest price as is the case, for instance, in Bialystock Voivodship where this is Z18,000, then it would be possible to build at least 10 percent more dwellings in the country as a whole from the materials saved. This would come to about 14,000 dwellings in a year.

The government has adopted a number of decisions in the matter of housing construction.

Relevant ministries have embarked on rationalizing activities as regards the costs of the use of materials. A detailed program for improvement of quality has been worked out for the apartments under construction. Possibilities have been created for housing construction in many forms: both as multiple family units and as individual units.

Right now government plans for housing policy until 1990 and bills on land usage and planning are in the Sejm.

Making use of the conditions that have been created and coordinated the initiatives of enterprises, coupled with widescale savings on materials and improvements in the standard of construction should considerably raise the number of apartments being constructed and improve the living conditions of workers, provided the resources of working people themselves are used more and more.

While talking about issues of rational management, it is not possible to bypass the matter of correctly planning the transportation of products and the correct use of transportation. Producing a given product in Poland is connected with a considerably greater number of shipments than in other, developed countries.

The reasons for this are varied, often objective. But there is also a lack of sufficient interest by enterprises in transportation costs and in the need to plan shipment routes rationally. Suppliers of raw materials and semifinished products are often hundreds of kilometers away from the factory, even though such suppliers may be found much nearer. For example:

--The sugar refinery in Gniezno in the final quarter of 1983 shipped sugar to Stawiania Pinczowskie over 400 km away, when the Kielce sugar refinery is only about 100 km away.

--Stone plates for sidewalks are shipped from Kolbuszowa, Rzeszow Voivodship, to Kielce, when at the same time identical plates are manufactured in Kielce itself.

Centrostal in Wroclaw-Osobowice receives metal products from steelworks in the Krakow and Katowice regions, and sends them to depots in the Katowice region such as Chorzow, Gliwice, Zawiercie, and Krakow-Prokocim.

And what about the well-known phenomenon of sending small shipments or even of empty transports?

A consistent implementation of economic reform and a steady aim to improve results should force enterprises to make more economical use of transportation.

State economic policy will encourage such activities.

If I am to speak about increasing the supply of goods and savings of raw and other materials I cannot but mention the particularly negative phenomenon that is the cause of enormous wastefulness and, as such, the cause of deterioration in the market and export situation. It is the poor quality of production. According to the findings of the checks carried out in 1983 quality of many industrial goods and agricultural produce is still low. This is evidenced by the results of state quality controls and consumer opinion of the quality of market goods, as well as by the number of complaints received from domestic consumers and consumers of exported goods that have been returned to Poland. A failure to observe legal regulations causes particular concern.

While discussing the problem of quality and concealing nothing, I would like to correctly show the extent of the problem. In 1983, losses by producers due to poor quality amounted to Z44 billion. This was almost 0.7 percent of the total value of production. On a national scale, this figure is insignificant and does not illustrate our economy's results. If conditions were different, we would pass over this matter in silence. But if today we are discussing this topic heatedly, it is because, first, every wasted zloty delays market stability, and second, we wish to discuss difficult issues honestly and solve them together. For these reasons I wish to quote a few examples concerning production quality.

According to a report by the Supreme Chamber of Control, 50 percent of enterprises that have been checked do not observe legal guidelines. Many factory quality control services are not functioning properly. Out of a general total of almost 4,000 products checked by the trade inspectorate [PKNMIJ], and which had already been passed by factory control teams, about 30 percent were deemed faulty.

In enterprises that were checked, there was also a general tendency not to observe the technical production requirements contained in documents. This tendency was expressed in the negligent performance of technological or control operations the main cause of which was lax discipline or low qualifications by foremen and craftsmen. The omission of technical operations important for quality was also discovered.

Let me illustrate with a few examples:

--In the "Bistona" Knitwear Plant, some 47-61 percent of products were discovered faulty due to a neglect of technological processes.

--In furniture factories around Greater Poland and the Zamosc and Kielce regions, 60-80 percent of the furniture discovered to be faulty was deemed faulty because of neglect of technical procedures.

--In the 1 May Steelworks, steel was poured at a lower temperature than that recommended in technical manuals.

--In the District Dairy Cooperatives in Koscian and Bartoszyce, 50 percent of the milk and milk products passed by quality control checks was discovered to be faulty. This figure was 78 percent in the case of the dairy cooperative in Lublin, and 100 percent in the cooperatives in Jaslo, Oborniki Wielkopolskie, Lodz, and in the agricultural plant in Wyszowadka. The dairy cooperative in Zlotow deserves recognition in quotation marks because such products as butter, cottage cheese, and milk were passed even though quality controls had failed them.

--Flour and flour products produced by the mills in Wyzno, Szenkielewo, Chelm, Szymanow, and Pabianice, and macaroni products produced by the Wroclaw macaroni plant are below standard because of their excessive dampness and fragility, and also because of excessive impurities.

Out of 888 items of baked goods checked by the Polish Chamber of Trade in the first quarter, 200 items were regarded as faulty.

Poor quality often stems from pure negligence. For example, during technical checks on tractor-drawn sheafers, 36 percent of them were disqualified due to incorrect assembly, 24 percent due to faulty measurements, 13 percent due to faulty paintwork, and 8 percent due to faulty welding--a total of 81 percent rejection.

In turn, in 76 percent of all cases repairs of automatic washing machines under warranty are small adjustments, correcting bad assembly, repeated technical tests, in other words everything that an honest manufacturing enterprise should perform.

These examples show that the work of factory quality control teams and of supervisors has deteriorated considerably. The question arises: Were these services unwilling to, unable to, or afraid of carrying out their duties? In those enterprises that were checked, existing possibilities of forming an incentive system were only used marginally.

In the above-mentioned Supreme Chamber of Control report, not one single case is mentioned where workers wages were withheld because of poor quality production or where they were dismissed for this reason.



The situation in the "Mazowia" Woolen Plant should be regarded as paradoxical. Here, deductions from bonuses payable to sorters of finished products during the first quarter of 1983 amounted to Z336, while fines levied on the plant because of a faulty classification of goods totaled Z239,000.

Similarly, in the "Konstilana" Woolen Plant, only Z965 was deducted from the Z120,800 in bonuses payable to sorters during the first quarter of 1983, whereas fines imposed on the plant during the same period totaled Z95,000.

At the "Textipol" plant, however, nothing was deducted from bonuses during the first half of 1983, while fines imposed on the plant amounted to Z518,600.

Cases are also known where a controlling body fines guilty persons, but their supervisors "recompense" them for this in the form of an even higher bonus.

The state trade inspectorate investigated 2,800 production enterprises creating goods and services to the value of Z4.4 billion. The goods whose quality was questioned amounted in value to over Z1 billion, that is about 23 percent. In principle the same faults as in previous years were uncovered, which means that the producers had not undertaken any moves to remedy the causes of such faults.

The quality of goods earmarked for export is a considerable problem. The checks carried out by the inspectorate demonstrated that the main reason for goods being returned by foreign customers is their poor quality. In 1983, for example: electric irons supplied to AEG-TELEFUNKEN in the FRG by the "Dezamet" plant in Nowa Dba had loose screws in the plates joining the handles to the soles.

--Transformers and amplifiers sold to the GDR firm VEB-ELFEMA by the "Zatra" Radio Transformer Plant in Skierniewice to the value of Z6.4 million possessed loosely fitted cores.

--Ladies coats exported to Sweden by the "Cora" clothing plant in Garwolin Szczecinski to the value of Z2.4 million had collars that did not match the description in documents.

The value of goods returned from export was 0.14 percent of the total goods exported in 1983. This includes the returns caused by poor quality which amounted to about 0.07 percent. This is relatively a small number. If we are criticizing this problem it is because it is necessary to see it also as a moral and prestige issue.

In the conditions of high competitiveness that exist in international trade, even the smallest mistake is assiduously taken advantage of by foreign partners, and it is often exploited not only in the trade sense. That is why the elimination of such mistakes, which are mostly caused by subjective reasons, is an obvious fundamental duty of producers and foreign trade enterprises. Limited competitiveness caused by, among other things, lower parameters of use in comparison with the same products of foreign firms makes export growth difficult for some goods. Some goods, for instance mopeds, compressors, and food mixers are difficult to export because of their old-fashioned construction. The

large number of breakdowns of exported cars certifies to their low quality and poor workmanship. According to the data of the ADL firm in London, the service guarantee of a Polish car costs on average about 200 pounds sterling, whereas a Mazda costs 10 times less.

How, one would like to ask our designers and technologists in some industries, are we to be competitive on foreign markets; and how, forgetting economic considerations, can the feeling of national dignity and ordinary human ambitions and professional ethics tolerate such phenomena? What is it that makes it impossible to tighten a nut or to assemble products according to their design, or to cut a collar according to the order? How can one measure what is more harmful: poor calculations or poor welding? There is no excuse for shoddy workmanship, no matter who is concerned: worker, master craftsman, engineer, or director.

Some enterprises and managements have been punished by penal or administrative sanctions. Among other things, production was stopped in 25 cases in 1983, and in the first quarter of this year in 26 cases. Persons guilty of poor quality production who have been taken to misdemeanor courts numbered 27 in 1983, of whom 6 were managing directors, and 2 cases concerning managing directors were taken to other courts. If one considers the harmfulness of the phenomena of poor quality of goods, the sanctions applied by relevant institutions are insufficient and, it appears, of little effect. The consequences of obvious shoddy workmanship and returned exported goods should be much more severe and immediate. The blame for excessive tolerance in these cases is borne, apart from management, by internal and foreign export enterprises, founding organs and other central organs. The government has already drawn conclusions from this fact and relevant government organs together with the prosecuting organs are stepping up actions aimed at a stricter and more effective accounting of persons responsible for poor production quality. Organizational changes will be made in the near future in institutions responsible for matters of quality.

While illustrating examples of poor quality production, it is nevertheless worth stressing that those who are dragging us downward are a minority, even though they are doing so quite effectively. Thousands of plants are producing well.

In those enterprises where this is the case, the number of products with the quality sign is steadily rising. I will give a few examples: the "Eltra" and "Polam" plants in Bydgoszcz Voivodship, the Stalowa Wola Steelworks, the Kalisz Food Concentrate Plant, and the Bydgoszcz and Swarzedz Furniture Plants, which produce and export high quality furniture to many countries.

I also think it is worth mentioning some products marked by high quality. These include sewing machines made by the "Lucznik" plant in Random, some tape recorders made by the Marcin Kasprzak radio plant in Warsaw, food processors made by "Mesko" in Skarzysko Kamienna and "Zelmer" in Rzeszow, enamel made by the Cieszyn Paint and Enamel Plant, products of the "Archimedes" agricultural machine plant in Wroclaw, and motors produced by the "Besel" electric motor plant in Brzeg.

A question arises: How is it possible that some people can produce well and others badly? The answer to this question must be given first and foremost by the workforces themselves, their managements and self-governments. Help in seeking an answer can be effectively given by party organizations. The answer should also be given by the workers themselves, particularly party members. What kind of party member allows bad work and produces shoddy goods? What kind of party member from quality control can allow this? Where are the heads of departments and directors? What regulations are there that disturb the comrades concerned in the conscientious performance of their duties? One must take a sharper look at these questions, from a wider party and civic point of view.

The problem of quality was recently examined by the Politburo. Following its decisions a team of experts is currently working under my leadership, whose task is to urgently prepare new system solutions and immediate solutions that will step up economic and disciplinary sanctions for poor quality and at the same time increase benefits for producing good quality products. As from 1 July, for instance, a Council of Ministers resolution will come into force which will step up economic penalties for allowing goods to enter the market without the mark of quality if they should have such a mark of quality. Such actions will supplement efforts which one hopes will be taken in the primary cells of the production processes.

Esteemed Comrades, the results of our economy depend to a large extent on external and internal factors. External factors include most of all restrictions applied by the capitalist states which make it difficult to conduct normal trade with these countries.

Such actions, and also the need for the gradual repayment of debts abroad significantly reduce our export possibilities. This is, in turn, reflected in all sectors of our economy. The amount of imports will be decided by the amount of exports and their quality. The cheaper and better we produce goods and the better we sell them abroad, the greater our import possibilities and the easier the repayment of our indebtedness. I have already spoken about the quality of and need for modern goods for export. Here I would like to discuss the problem of the cost effectiveness of exports. All issues concerning productivity also affect the cost effectiveness of exports. Hence a paradoxical situation frequently arises when it is more profitable for us to export raw materials and goods that have been processed to a small degree than to export goods that have been processed to a high degree. Data from 1983 on exports of individual products to countries in the second payments area illustrate this. In order to earn 1 U.S. dollar from exports, it was necessary to spend at least the following amounts of zlotys:

Coal for fuel	44.4	zlotys	for every	dollar
Sulfur and sulfurous materials	59.6	"	"	"
Brown coal	70.0	"	"	"
Steel sheeting	82.7	"	"	"
Rolled metal goods	90.5	"	"	"
Electric spin dryers	108.0	"	"	"
Knitwear	118.4	"	"	"
Cars	123.6	"	"	"
Ball bearings	123.8	"	"	"
Electricity generators	157.5	"	"	"

Unfortunately, it often happens that the greater the degree of processing is, the less profitable exports are. Copper goods are an eminent example. To take the example of copper concentrate, if the government has to spend 290 on copper plate to earn 1 U.S. dollar on it, then it has to spend about 2110 in the case of semi-finished copper products, and as much as 2130 in the case of copper cable. This is an economically incorrect phenomenon and stems from low productivity, incorrect structure of production, high costs, and low quality. All this means that every successive stage in processing a product diminishes that product's profitability and competitiveness vis-a-vis foreign products.

The above facts do not mean at all that we should give up exporting processed goods and increase exports of raw materials and fuels. On the contrary, faced with the limited possibilities of exporting raw materials, we must aim to increase exports of industrial goods processed to a high degree, but--and this deserves stressing--we must at the same time increase the profitability of these products.

Esteemed comrades, one of the major external factors in our economy is the development and permanent establishment of cooperation with the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union. It was the internationalist and fraternal attitude to our difficulties and cooperation of the land of soviets that helped and is helping us to overcome the crisis. The visit to the Soviet Union by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of our Central Committee, was a significant event. The talks held with CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Konstantin Chernenko, and the signing of the mutual long-term agreement on the development of economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union up to the year 2000 are of great significance. The implementation of this program will allow a more effective use of the two countries' production and intellectual potential. The jointly adopted document defines the economic fields in which the scientific and technological and economic cooperation will be developed. Supplies of Soviet fuel, power, raw materials, and plants are playing and will continue to play an extremely important role in the development of the Polish economy. The directions of cooperation defined in the program will enable our country to become more independent with regard to the capitalist countries, both technologically and economically.

An example of the tackling of future economic problems right now is the implementation of the important PPR-USSR cooperation agreements of November last year based on favorable credit terms and involving the completion of three steelworks in Poland and of a gas pipeline from Kobryn in Belorussian, via Brest to Warsaw. These agreements will solve the important problem of natural gas supplies from the Soviet Union in return for exports of coke, railway lines, and mouldings, whose production we will commence when the new premises are completed.

The internal factors influencing our economy, apart from difficulties in supplying the economy with raw and other materials, mostly consist of problems with employment and the use of working time. Since 1981 with the shorter working time per week, we are noticing many irregularities in the way in which it is used. Unfortunately, we do not note any improvement this year: in the first quarter of 1984 an increase of 6 percent in hours not worked, including an 8-percent increase in sickness and a 7-percent increase in unexplained absence from work.

Do you know comrades, that each statistical worker employed in the industry in 1983 missed about 51 working days, and in the whole national economy about 2.2 million failed to be at work every day. However, this constituted some improvement in comparison with 1982. Various losses caused by organizational and technical reasons and frequently low labor discipline are also a significant factor in bad use of working time. It is estimated that losses caused by this factor amount to about 20 percent of nominal working time.

Summing up the amount of losses in working time due to faulty organization of work and to absence, one must state that effective working time constitutes on average only 60 percent of nominal working time. This has a decisive influence on the level of productivity and size of demand for the work force. This is why the arguments advanced by certain factories that shortage of employment is a barrier to increasing production are in many cases an insufficient justification and are often used as a screen for inefficiency in the functioning of an enterprise.

We are suffering irremediable losses every day because of irrational employment. I will give only one example:

In the paper plant in Jeziorno, a machine for the production of butter-wrapping is standing idle. This machine could produce about 2,000 metric tons of wrapping per year, which we import for about \$3 million. The machine is idle because 100 persons to operate it cannot be found, and this is probably because wages are higher by several thousand zlotys in the nearby "Polkolor" plant.

The following question needs to be asked here: Where is the management, where is the voivoda, and where is the minister?

The simplest resources have yet to be utilized, involving improving work organization and structure.

Some people think that standardization is superfluous in the economic reform. Nothing could be more erroneous. In every economy, irrespective of the system of management, standardization is a fundamental element for the current organization of labor: it delineates the outline of work that is necessary to carry out certain operations and promotes the optimum exploitation of machinery and installations, which in turn promotes savings.

For some years now things have not been well in our enterprises in this sphere, because there has been a departure from using technological means to gauge and assess work. The range of standardized work fell from 51.6 percent in 1980 to 47 percent in 1983. For the sake of comparison, I can tell you that in the Soviet Union about 80 percent of the work in industry and the construction industry is standardized and that research carried out on enterprises in the United States shows that about 95 percent of all work in the manufacturing industry is standardized. The standardization of work, or to be more exact the certification of places of work in the broad meaning of the word should quickly find its proper place in all factories. This is also why a particularly important and urgent task for all enterprises is undertaking the general

certification of jobs in order to take advantage of all the features of the scientific organization of work and technology that are at the disposal of the enterprises and the whole of industry.

Such activities should, in accordance with the basic principles of the economic reform, be forced through with the help of economic mechanisms. However, the organization and preparation of the methodology of this work should be taken on by the appropriate ministries as well as their scientific-research bases.

There is another matter that is not linked directly to production and its effectiveness and which as a result is often taken lightly in many enterprises. This is the conditions and general level of culture and hygiene at one's work place. The untidiness that can often be seen at a work place, in the changing rooms and storage areas, has an unfavorable effect on the way a worker feels and is often one of the reasons for workers switching jobs.

It is here that, aside from the worker collectives themselves, the middle level of supervisors, that is the foreman, enjoy a wide field of activity. In the past, the foreman's role and position in a plant was not always properly appreciated. The statute concerning foremen, which was introduced in a government resolution, standardizes all their rights and duties in a complex way and gives them the correct footing in the production and management process regarding the management of teams of workers. However, this problem has not been correctly appreciated everywhere nor is the foreman's position on the level it ought to be in all places.

The following plants are pursuing a sensible and correct policy in this matter: the Lenin Steelworks in Nowa Huta, the 1st May Widzew Cotton Industry Plants in Lodz, the Nitric Plants in Kedzierzyn, and the Stalowa Wola Steelworks. However, the wrong policy is being pursued by plants like the Pomorze Construction Industry Enterprises in Bydgoszcz or the Linen Industry Plants in Zyrardow.

Work conditions and work safety have an important significance for the production process. The statistics for 1983 indicated an increase in the number of accidents at work, especially serious accidents and ones that result in disability. It appears from analyses that the commonest causes of accidents at work are shortcomings in work organization, failure to observe regulations, and a lack of supervision. The improvement of this situation does, after all, mainly depend on managements and the plant collectives, and the more so since the changes to the management system limited the interference of the central bodies in this matter. A great role can and should be played by the plant's trade unions.

Esteemed Comrades! Despite the fact that we shall rationalize the policies of employment and improve the use of working time, the shortage of workers, especially those involved directly in production processes will nevertheless be a "bottleneck" in the future in the development of industrial production. Thus at present we are faced with the need for strict savings not only as regards materials but also as regards manpower. Above all, this means that we must husband this manpower rationally. The introduction into production processes

of mechanization, automation and robotization in the broad meaning of the word, is one of the solutions to this problem, which is so important for the whole economy. This would make it possible to get rid of the shortages in employment and at the same time it would reduce the level of hard work and safety risks at work. So far we have not achieved the requisite progress in this sphere. However, there was at the same time a very clear development of these technologies in other countries, including socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and the GDR.

And so, for example, the annual production of robots and remote-control machines in the USSR has currently reached about 14,000 in addition to the 40,000 machines of this kind that are already in use there.

By 1985, the GDR will produce 40,000 robots and remote-control machines as the program that has been worked out contains a planned production of 10,000 of these machines a year. At present there are only 360 robot units in operation in Poland.

I should mention that a small number of the 605 robots made in Poland have not fully found buyers chiefly as a result of the lack of enterprises interest. This has brought about a slowdown in their production, and the license for robots purchased in Sweden has not been taken advantage of either. Many of the units already produced are being exported to the GDR and the USSR. The situation in this regard must be changed radically.

At present a program is being prepared for the development of robotization in Poland which will be examined by the government in the near future. So as to determine the level of the need that enterprises have for robots, polls have been carried out at factories. The needs put down by enterprises for the coming 2 years came to a ridiculously low number: 150 robots and manipulators and only an additional 700 units up to the year 1990. When one contrasts these figures with the data from the other countries I have mentioned this is downright astounding and very troubling.

For instance, in the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry out of close to 400 enterprises which completed questionnaires, more than 130 see no need to use robots in the next few years. It is strange that included in this number are enterprises where there are labor shortages and where there is a considerable number of physically demanding jobs. These enterprises include, among others, the Bessel Electrical Engine Factory in Brzeg, the Warsaw Pump Factory, the Chemar Plant in Kielce, and the Fewent Ventilator Factory in Cheml Slaski.

However, there are fortunately also many factories that have already introduced or soon wish to introduce robotization, although the truth is that the plants concerned must be seriously committed both technologically and financially in order to do this. The plants that think and act responsibly with a view to the future are, among others, the following: The VIS Instrument Industry Combine, the Archimedes Agricultural Machine Factory, the Predom-Mesko Metal Plants, the M. Kasprzak Radio Plants, the Ema-Apator Electrical Apparatus Plants, and the Mera-Lumel Electrical Plants in Lubusz.

One of the fundamental factors determining the development of the economy and its effectiveness is also the way in which the production assets are increased and exploited; this means the machinery, installations and buildings.

Our activities in this area are still being affected by the effects of the incorrect investments policy that was pursued in the seventies and was characterized by an excessive investment front of activities, a high outlay of assets, long periods of construction, and a bad investments structure. The investments situation inherited from the previous period and the limited resources available to the country's economy require that investment activity be reduced and concentrated on tasks that are of primary importance and can be handed over for use quickly.

The gradual aging of fixed assets and reduced effectiveness are becoming an increasingly serious problem.

The dilemma facing us then, is how should we resolve this issue when our funds to do so are insufficient? The only logical solution is the rational and suitable management of the resources we possess. The main task facing us in view of this is to modernize industry. This should be done by enterprises and the resources we do have should, above all, be designated for the modernization of the production apparatus and not the construction of new workshops and buildings. All this constitutes, in the modernization of our assets, a great opportunity for Polish scientific-technical ideas and for the great numbers of engineers and scientists, inventors and rationalizers, whose knowledge and skills ought to be used much better than hitherto.

And the fact that there are considerable resources in Poland like this indicates that Poland has the lowest number of patented technological devices for every 10,000 workers, as the scale for our country is 6.2, while in Czechoslovakia it is 10.3 and in the FRG it is 15.

There was at the same time a decline in the number of proposals to rationalize this situation, because the number of proposals received in 1979 was about 320,000 while in 1982, 120,000 were sent in. There was an increase in this number in 1983, but only 140,000 drafts were received.

The great drop in the past few years in the number of inventions and rationalizing projects put forward ought to be an alarm signal forcing us to take energetic remedial steps. The government has adopted certain measures in this matter which have gone half way to meeting, among others, the suggestions made by Comrade Zieba from Krakow and Comrades Grzegorzowicz, and Trad from Szczecin at the National Conference of the aktiv last year. The decree on inventions that the Sejm adopted recently is of particularly great importance. The new resolutions it includes are above all based on linking the interests of the people who thought up the plans, with those of the work plants, and of the units of the scientific-research base.



Esteemed Comrades! While concentrating our attention on solving current economic problems we must at the same time nevertheless remember matters pertaining to the development of the country as seen from a longer perspective. In the near future, and as is becoming increasingly more apparent, also in the 1990's and beyond, the factors determining the socioeconomic development of Poland, particularly as regards raw materials, fuels and energy and also employment, will be similar to those present today. There will be no miraculous changes in the structure of the world's economy to reduce the role of that which depends mainly on the work we do. And I tried to show just how much depends precisely on this, although this was simplified and abbreviated in many spheres. The main aim of the numerous examples that I mentioned was to demonstrate what enterprises have available, to show the role of work forces and factory work forces--in a word, to show the decisive role of the human factor, the factor of good or bad work.

You comrades will forgive me that certain assessments will appear to you to be harsh and unfair. There is no possibility of reducing everything to absolutely comparable conditions in the same way as it would be impossible to compare the skills, talents and attitudes of the people that create these conditions. And one more thing: there will also be those, in particular those who call themselves Poles who via foreign broadcasting stations do everything they can to harm Poland and who will say that a negative picture of the economy has been presented to the public. I shall only repeat what Premier Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee, said at the Conference of the Delegates for the Ninth PZPR Congress: Our weakness in various spheres of management is at the same time our strength, our reserve. These reserves are to be found in the possibilities of our economy. They are to be found above all in people, in the working class and in the cadres--in other words, in what is most valuable. It is only a feeling of respect for working people and their value and the need to base ourselves on the civic attitudes of factory collectives that authorizes us to present difficult and complex matters so sincerely and to openly discuss these matters. We can also speak openly about this because what we have done to stabilize the country, production, supplies and the market situation is a great irrefutable achievement in exceptionally difficult conditions as compared to the picture presented at the end of 1980 and the beginning of 1981 and is an achievement that our opponents cannot "forgive us."

The economic reform creates comparable conditions for everyone. As never before in Poland possibilities have been created for us to do as we like with manufacturing capabilities and with material and non-material resources. The economic reform, which was introduced thanks to the will of the party and which has in the party its best guarantor, has as never before created possibilities for the development of our own initiatives in the implementation of social interests which concur when all is said and done with the aims of individual work forces. It has become the fashion in Poland to interpret all negative phenomena as being either the results of the reform or the consequence of unwillingness to implement the reform. It is precisely against this backdrop that we are still supposedly divided into supporters or opponents of the reform. Some workers are supposedly in favor of the reform while some are against, some directors in favor and some against. There are also those who say that this division reaches even further up.

The reform is a fact. It functions in our life and will continue to function with all its basic principles being preserved. Modifications to it can and will apply to individual solutions and mechanisms.

Acting in this way, learning from one's own experience and from the experience of others, drawing correct conclusions from the past and from today, we shall be able to effectively strengthen the positive trends and limit and eliminate negative phenomena in all the sectors of economic life in Poland. This matter was unequivocally commented upon by the leadership of the party and the government. This truth is being confirmed by life. I propose, however, that comrades consider classifying, from bottom to top, people, collectives, offices and institutions, into those who are implementing the reform through their good and productive work and those who, harming themselves and the whole community, by their work and their results negate what they verbally support.

Putting the matter in this way, there can be no antagonistic contradictions between self-governments and the unions, between workers and master craftsmen, between self-governments and directors.

Let me now cite the opinion of someone who is very cognizant, in my view, with this matter. The following is what Jerzy Solda, chairman of the Workers' Council of the Polish Marine Fleet enterprise in Szczecin, said at the all-Poland meeting of work force self-government body representatives on 9 April:

"The Polish Marine Fleet's [as printed] workers' self-government body has not come across any serious difficulties in the implementation of its statutory rights. The good cooperation between the Workers' Council and the chief director is, among other things, based on the fact that both implicitly observe the programmatic declaration that the self-governing body worked out. The declaration's goal is to ensure there is a suitable division of power between the Workers' Council, the management, and the trade union organization, as well to reconcile the interests of the work force and the enterprises with those of the whole of society. (...) We have declared that we are resolutely against wastefulness and bad management and put particular emphasis on factors that would stimulate people to work to institute law and order, to observe the law, and to care for their enterprise's property."

Esteemed Comrades, it is one of the fundamental conditions which make it possible to gain progress in productivity in all sectors of the economy and create the correct, rationally and scientifically based conditions for the functioning of enterprises and their basic elements. This concerns equally the economic systems and mechanisms that decide how the whole economy is to function as well as the correct elementary task and function of the state and economic administration and all its levels and links, starting with a master craftsmen and ending with a minister. Everything that is good or bad, as I mentioned in my speech, is significantly affected by these activities or their absence and not all the issues were dealt with by the bodies of the administration that were qualified to deal with them. This also, among other things, concerns the creation of

regulations and the checks that are made to ensure they are being observed and implemented. The government will continue with full consistency, to conduct work and undertake actions to continually perfect the methods that make the state and economic administration function properly so as to draw all essential conclusions consistently. Principled behavior, honest courageous but at the same time truthful and constructive criticism can be and should be helpful in this difficult work. The attitudes of nonchalance, lack of feeling, and what is known as "the suppression of criticism," ought to be met with universal disapproval. Only in the open and responsible joint action of the whole work force, its self-government and union organs with the management, with an active and inspirational role of the party organization, can the interests of the work force and its factory be reconciled with the interest of the whole society.

Allow me please, esteemed comrades, to return in conclusion, to the national conference of workers' activists on 30 March 1983. We talked then about all the matters that still remain topical today and will be topical for years to come. Since that time 14 months have passed. We have achieved undeniable progress in many fields. But the appeal of this conference is still topical. Allow me to quote from it:

"We appeal to the whole community for a matter of fact and committed debate and later for consistent implementation of the jointly adopted decisions connected with the proposals of the government program to counteract inflation and the savings program. Let us implement these programs at every work post, starting with ministers and directors down to and including the workers. This is the only way for the national economy and the market to become stable, and then our lives and the lives of our wives and mothers will be easier. We shall thus also contribute to making the tomorrow of our children into proof of our contribution to the success of Poles and lasting prosperity of our socialist fatherland."

CSO: 2600/1009

URBAN DISCUSSES WESTERN SANCTIONS, UNIVERSITY ELECTIONS

LD222008 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 May 84

[Report on Jerzy Urban press conference with foreign journalists in Warsaw on 22 May, by reporter Marek Kassa--passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] At the beginning of the conference, the government spokesman talked about the Western countries' boycott and restrictions on Poland. Here is an excerpt of his statement:

"It is the truth that the policy of isolating Poland and of restrictions has gone up a blind alley; and it is true that it is illogical and causes an increase in international tension which is damaging to the Americans as well.

"The policy of boycott and restrictions is particularly at odds with the United States' European allies' interests. The majority of governments in Western Europe see this policy toward Poland as a painful hindrance to the realization of their interests, both political and economic, on an all-European scale. The policy of boycott and restrictions consolidates the divisions and antagonisms on our--after all--small continent. The attempts to isolate Poland cause an increase in the self-isolation of the NATO part of Europe. The policy of boycott and restrictions is one of the factors intensifying international tension. It is particularly dangerous for the Western European countries. Thus many NATO state governments do not conceal in talks with us that the restricting anti-Polish policy imposed on them by the White House is hurting.

"The political contacts with Poland, contacts of a party, parliamentary type, the first manifestations of realism in economic cooperation, announcements of official contacts at government level--for there are already such announcements--and also the recent meeting between the chairman of the council of state of the Polish People's Republic. Professor Henryk Jablonski, and the president of Italy, Mr Pertini, are an attempt to loosen that restriction.

"Poland is making such attempts and responds favorably to these signals. The wall that was intended to surround Poland is cracking. This is a result of the fact that the Polish people, in spite of the restrictions, are overcoming the crisis; that we are achieving gradual political stabilization, that we have the strong support of our allies, proof of which is the course and results of

the recent visit by General Wojciech Jaruzelski to the Soviet Union. It is, however, a fact--and I want to stress this in the answer to questions--that the boycott of Poland, above all in the form of economic restrictions, continues. Anti-Polish decisions continue to bind the countries participating in NATO.

"As long as the NATO countries do not revise the principle of applying restrictions itself, of interfering in matters which are internal Polish ones and none of their business, it will be impossible to speak of a serious qualitative change in the relations between Poland and the United States and its European allies."

The next subject was that of the administration of Warsaw University. Here the government spokesman stated:

"The minister of higher education has issued legally binding opposition to the election of Professor Klemens Szaniawski as rector of Warsaw University. This opposition was motivated by the fact that the presence of Professor Szaniawski would not ensure administration of the university in accordance with the spirit and letter of the law on higher education. This law speaks of the socialist character of our educational establishments, which carry out the academic and childrearing policy of the state. The minister also states that were professor Szaniawski to perform the function of rector, this would not ensure the essential level of cooperation between the rectorate and the ministry.

"The minister has also decided to suspend for 6 months the functioning of the electoral college. This means that for this period it will not be possible for elections to the authorities of the college to be held--in the University of Warsaw, obviously. The minister has not accepted the resignation of professor Dobrowolski from the function rector, nor the resignation of the pro-rectors. They will be in authority until their term of office runs out--that is, until 1 September this year. The Senate of the university will function normally, until 31 August, when its mandate will expire. The Warsaw University Senate continues to act with the same makeup--that is it does not incorporate members elected at supplementary elections which are not recognized by the Ministry of Higher Education, since they contradict the principles of the law.

"When, on 1 September, the post of rector and his deputies falls vacant, the minister, in accordance with his statutory right, will appoint a new rector. So far 79 rectors have been elected throughout Poland. Over 50 percent of them having been reelected, after the previous term of office. Close to half of the rectors are members of the PZPR, the SD or the ZSL."

The spokesman was then asked to comment on the letter of representatives of the coordinating committee of the creative and scientific associations addressed to the premier, in which they protest against terming this committee an opposition organization.

"Such a document has also arrived at the office of the Council of Ministers. In this context I can state that I maintain the assessment I expressed, and see no need to alter it. The persons who signed the protest letter to the premier will receive an answer. When that reply is ready I will be prepared to make an

appropriate comment on it. For the moment all I can say is that If Messrs Gustaw Holubek, Klemens Szaniawski, Andrzej Wajda, Juliusz Zulawski, Andrzej Jarecki, or Kazimierz Dziewanowski feel themselves insulted by my having stated that they are opponents of the government's policy, then this reaction is one to be acknowledged with satisfaction."

In the subsequent part of the conference, Jerzy Urban spoke of the situation in Barczewo prison:

"On 16 and 17 May governors of the Barczewo Prison undertook a successful attempt to change the behavior of those sentenced for political motives."

"As a result of talks these persons pledged that until 18 May they would stop all protests, demonstrations, and activities disturbing peace and order. Besides, Slowik and Kropiwnicki declared that they would stop their hunger protest.

"At present the calm prevails at the Barczewo penal establishment. Slowik and Kropiwnicki halted their hunger protest, and all sentenced for political motives are behaving properly."

Today's conference was also attended by Eugeniusz Ciszak, deputy minister of mining and energy, and Antoni Karas, deputy minister of foreign trade. They spoke about implementation of production and export tasks by the mining industry. The average daily extraction of coal is at the level of 635,000-640,000 metric tons. We regained many markets.

And that is all from today's conference. Tomorrow's press will carry more extensive reports.

CSO: 2600/996

PARTY DAILY DISCUSSES PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR

AU031417 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 May 84 p 4

[Jerzy Muszynski article: "The West's Psychological War Against Poland"]

[Excerpts] In the strategic plans of imperialism during the struggle against the world socialist system, Poland has always been an exceptionally important object of attack. This is not a coincidence, nor is of any special sign of favor given to Poland by Western centers of political and ideological subversion, though it is true that some anticommunist politicians in the West have been treating Poland as one of the weaker links in the world socialist system. Anticommunist psychological activities against Poland date from the time when the front-line attacks against Poland collapsed during the first cold war era.

Although there was intense psychological anticommunist activity as early as 1947, the real psychological war stepped up from 1956 onwards and was inspired by the situation that arose in the country following the 20th CPSU Congress and after the illegal practices of the personality cult had been revealed. Two propaganda centers in particular conducted psychological warfare at this time: "Radio Free Europe" on the one hand and the Paris "Literary Institute" and KULTURA periodical on the other. However, the results of their activities did not satisfy their inspirers because the material disseminated by these centers, material hostile to Poland and socialism, pervaded the attitudes of only a small sector of society. It is therefore no coincidence that psychological activities were modified intensely with the aim of setting up an antisocialist opposition in Poland. Already by the beginning of the sixties, the anticommunist centers of psychological warfare had stepped up anti-Polish activity in support of both the emerging antisocialist groups and revisionist and Zionist elements. This time the point was to set society apart from the authorities, to isolate the party and state leadership from the people, and finally to undermine the foundations of the Polish-Soviet alliance.

The subversive centers "Radio Free Europe" and Paris KULTURA stepped up their activities in particular, gradually becoming the information and propaganda spokesmen for opponents of socialism in Poland. The spring 1968 political events involving demonstrations and rallies by students gave these centers a

special opportunity to step up subversive ideological activity which hit at the socialist system in Poland. They passed up no chance to distort Polish society's consciousness.

The emergence of the Workers Defense Committee (KOR) in September 1976 started a new anticommunist offensive in the West as part of the psychological war against Poland. The anticommunist centers gained a specific ally to which they gave comprehensive support and which was regarded as an important bridge-head on Polish soil. Into KOR went already previously known opponents of socialism who had great experience in political battle against authority and personal ambitions and hopes of playing a starring role in the struggle against socialism. KOR became an embryo of the organized antisocialist opposition, which fact its founders did not conceal. In the KOR document entitled "Thoughts on a Program of Action," Jacek Kuron wrote: "The political opposition in our country, which is becoming more and more energetic, must with all due responsibility take upon itself the duty of influencing the fate of the country."

By associating themselves with some workers class circles, the organizers of the antisocialist opposition intended to establish an extensive and cohesive social base. That is why, announcing that they were representing the vital interests of the workers class, they counted on the support of the working masses in the struggle against the socialist system, whose backbone consists of those very working masses themselves.

In the second half of the seventies, other antisocialist groups possessing various ideological and political orientations also emerged in Poland. However, the foreign centers of ideological warfare counted mainly on the Social Self-Defense Committee [which merged with KOR to form the Workers Social Self-Defense Committee KSS-KOR] and aimed at tightening cooperation with this committee in order to use it to get through to various milieus of working people more widely and more effectively.

The speeches by workers in the summer of 1980, the strikes and demonstrations inspired and led by activists in the antisocialist underground, and then the creation of Solidarity and its inclusion in the struggle against the party and state authority--all this was assessed in the West as a Western success in the psychological war against Poland and regarded as a further opportunity to step up activity designed to overthrow the authority of the working masses, make the antisocialist political opposition assume this authority, and demolish the socialist system and restore capitalism. The purpose was clear; all that was required was its successful realization.

The situation which took shape in Poland at the beginning of the 1980's was used by the centers of psychological warfare in order to redouble their activities with particular intensiveness:

--Supporting those antisocialist forces aiming to take over power and overthrow socialism;

--Discrediting the actions of the authorities aimed at blocking the extremist actions of the enemies of socialism in all spheres of life and fully normalizing the situation in the country.



The number of centers involved in the psychological war against Poland grew in particular during this period. Besides such well-known radio stations as "Radio Free Europe" and "Radio Liberty," official bodies in some Western states began official hostile propaganda against Poland as well, for example, the following radio and TV stations: Voice of America, BBC, Deutsche Welle, Radio France International, and others. After the introduction of martial law in Poland, some key leaders of the capitalist states, including U.S. President Ronald Reagan, adopted a hostile stance toward the authorities.

The anticommunists in the West used every opportunity (such as the Madrid CSCE talks, the UN Human Rights Commission, the ILO, and various scientific conferences and symposiums) to attack Poland, the legal authorities, and the work of normalization. The hostile action against Poland was stepped up to such a degree that it became known as propaganda aggression.

In their hatred of socialist Poland, the enemies in various guises did not spare resources in order to violate the norms of international life, interfere in Poland's domestic affairs, lend official support to the opponents of socialism, inspire these opponents' activities, and attack various doings of the party and government.

The characteristic of the psychological war against Poland from 1982 to 1984 is the fact that various anticommunist centers in the West performed an information and propaganda function on behalf of and for the sake of the underground leadership of the illegal Solidarity. The radio stations, information agencies, and daily press of some Western countries became the mouthpiece of socialism's enemies in Poland. They are now conveying various statements, declarations, and interviews, publicizing illegal literature, informing about the activities of antistate circles, attacking the authorities, inciting society, and painting Poland's future in dark colors.

The main purpose of this propaganda aggression is to create in Poland the kind of social atmosphere which would force the authorities to reinstate Solidarity and restore the situation that existed after August 1980 and prior to December 1981. The purpose is to use the kind of propaganda on Polish society which would increase pressure on the authorities so that they in turn will make various concessions to the antisocialist opposition.

The global nature of the psychological war against the PPR takes into account the country's specific situation, the possibility and effectiveness of activity by the opposition, and the current goals of the centers in this psychological war themselves. In 1982 attacks against martial law were intensified. After its suspension, and then abolition, the main pressure was applied to legalizing Solidarity, and boycotts of the new trade unions were called for. Next, a campaign commenced in defense of the arrested KSS-KOR activists and other extremist elements of the former Solidarity.

The country's stabilization in 1983 altered the paths of action of the psychological warfare centers somewhat. Right now important targets of the psychological war are those actions of the authorities that are gradually helping to lead the country out of the crisis. They include the economic

reform, the workers self-management bodies, the new trade unions, and the elections to the people's councils. Selectiveness in psychological action does not alter the universal nature of the activity designed to overthrow socialism in Poland.

Although the results of the psychological war against Poland are not commensurate with the forces and resources used in it, the enemies of communism are not giving up this war. On the contrary, they are stepping it up. Such is the logic of the struggle for people's consciousness. For this consciousness determines the direction in which humanity develops in future.

CSO: 2600/998

CZECHOWICZ DISCUSSES WORKERS' ROLE IN PARTY

PM050946 Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 17 May 1984 p 3

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and First Secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee Tadeusz Czechowicz by TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA correspondent Ireneusz Leczek; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] Leczek: Today a symposium on the subject "Workers in the Party," organized by the Lodz PZPR Committee together with the Katowice PZPR Voivodship Committee, is taking place in Sosnowiec. What are you expecting from the symposium, which in turn follows a session devoted to workers' share in cultural life and which was organized too as a joint venture of the two committees?

Czechowicz: We intend to consider a model for the promotion of the working class in our system of the exercise of power, as well as in our cultural and economic life. Our plans in this sphere should be based on our past experience. They must not be utopian and unrealistic.

We want to find an answer to the following question: How can the working class, with its constructively critical attitudes toward the so-called centrum, eradicate various errors occurring inside its enterprises, within its own milieu? To what extent is it capable of fighting social ills and social pathology? How can the wisdom of the working class contribute to effecting improvements in our life?

Yet another topic is the role of the working class as its own mentor. We also intend to compare our respective experience during the session. The problem of the methods and style of work adopted by the party is still open.

It is for us, for the PZPR, a tragedy that in the years 1980-1981 the experienced element in the working class proved incapable of defending those among its demands that were well justified and, at the same time, taking a stand against the many negative, demagogic tendencies which were of anti-working class nature. It was also not sufficiently aware of the fact that the interests of narrowly defined groups, including workers' groups, are at times incompatible with the overall, common interest. In that difficult period the working class proved unable to take a stand in defense of its own achievement

of 40 years' standing. A young guy of 20 would come along and say: "You have done nothing in those 36 years." And he would be considered as the smartest of them all. The working class needs to develop more respect for its own achievement in people's Poland. Not all of our workers realize yet that the democratization of our life, along with the self-government principle, ought to serve to consolidate our state and not undermine it. In addition, our workers are still insufficiently aware of Poland's position in the world, of the fact that peace in Europe depends to a large extent on our own country's internal stability.

Leczek: Does the working class yield to the pressure of bourgeois ideals?

Czechowicz: Models of bourgeois attitudes are found among a large proportion of young workers, and also among those who, as the saying has it, had for diverse reasons lost their cause either in 1980 or after 13 December 1981. These people have by now either become critical onlookers or else they say: "We are fed up with it all, from now on we wish to spend our time at our vegetable plots watering the carrots." We try to explain to them that it is not possible to have one's own private happiness without first sorting out the fundamental problems of one's society. To dodge these problems and devote oneself to tending one's vegetable plot, or seeing to one's family concerns, is to run away from difficult questions, but this can only be for a short time.

Leczek: We know that in the Lodz party organization workers make up 44 percent of the total membership. They are thus in the minority. Does this cause any negative political consequences?

Czechowicz: The working-class character of the party is not defined by percentages alone. There was a time in the history of the PZPR when workers were in a definite majority and still their interests were not properly respected. At present the proportion of workers in the top executive positions in our party, such as the Central Committee and the Politburo, is higher than before. It often happens that workers themselves opt for entrusting the representation of their interests to foremen, technicians, or candidates chosen from the intelligentsia, that is, people who have had sufficient theoretical and political preparation.

Leczek: You have spoken about representing workers' interests. In popular interpretation this question is often oversimplified.

Czechowicz: The working class has many problems, many complaints which require looking into. Not all of them can be solved straight away--this is a consequence of the limited capacities of the state. You cannot represent the working class if all you do is flatter it and affirm that it is always in the right. Sometimes you have to act against the prevailing mood of the moment. For example, it had been imperative to introduce price rises in our country. Some people said: "Let us not make that decision [now], let us not touch prices during party elections." Later, they suggested that that difficult issue should not be tackled before 1 May or, again, before the elections

to people's councils. Would it have been ethical for us to introduce price rises only after 22 July, thereby compounding their effects? These are not popular decisions but they have to be made, and it has to be explained at the same time that our living standard does not depend solely on how much money we have in our pockets but mainly on the number of commodities on the market. In the course of this operation we must all do some hard thinking on the quality of the work we do and carry out an in-depth analysis of the social costs of production. We discuss these things with workers who are party members, and also those who do not belong to the party. We have a workers' advisory group attached to the Lodz Committee, and if I, as first secretary of the Committee and Politburo member, have any doubts as to what decision ought to be made, I will then on the whole choose to be guided by the class-oriented opinions of the workers.

Leczek: But there are times when these opinions are dictated by the prevailing mood of the moment, or by views inspired by demagoguery.

Czechowicz: We then work out a balance of opinions. Some weeks ago we had a meeting between workers and representatives of the private sector. It began on a dramatic note, with some sharp statements and elements of demagoguery. In the course of the discussion and further explanations which then followed, new proposals eventually emerged concerning alterations to the existing taxation policy, the principles of supplying materials to the handicraft industry, and so on. Many workers who took part in that meeting are involved in the control of the nonsocialized sector. A similar meeting, devoted to the penal policy, took place recently, with the participation of judges, barristers, assessors, and the minister of justice. Workers represented the other side in the discussion. We can afford to take up many issues of consequence for the party through the mouths of our workers.

Leczek: The Polish United Workers Party represents workers' interests, that is, class interests. In work enterprises issues which affect workers are also handled by the trade unions, by workers' self-government bodies, by the Patriotic Movement for National Revival, by youth organizations. Does this variety help or hinder the party?

Czechowicz: It is not an easy task for a party organization at an enterprise to direct the political life therein, but the party is in need of a critical look from the trade unions and the self-government structures just as we are all in need of fresh air and clean water. We must not be afraid of differences of opinions between, say, the trade unions and the self-government organs. It would not be a felicitous solution to run the life of an enterprise according to the formula proposed by one side only. The thing to aim for is for the party to present a solution--based on a class-oriented approach to the existing situation--which would reconcile the enterprises' development with the workers' immediate interests.

Leczek: How do you envisage the role to be played by self-government structures and the trade unions among the workers?

Czechowicz: Workers' self-government structures ought to combine the immediate interest with the long-term interest of the whole enterprise. Self-government structures cannot be guided by short-term popularity. The trade unions ought to provide the ground for the realization of a practically interpreted social justice. In the long-term perspective both the party and the trade unions aim for the same goal. We may differ in the routes we take to reach it and in the angle we view it from. The trade unions will not discharge their function fully if they restrict themselves to busying themselves exclusively with various claims and demands. If they overstep a certain barrier here the whole thing turns against them. Just look at the way in which the trade unions in the capitalist countries decide not to press for certain privileges. I was a trade unionist myself once, and this is what I was told by the representatives of trade unions in the West: "Our unions only defend the good workers, while yours defend them all without always analyzing the possible effects of their demands."

CSO: 2600/997

# NOVA MYSL ON FEASIBILITY OF ARAB UNITY

AU031620 Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech and Slovak No 5/1984 (signed to press 5 Apr 84) pp 117-127

[Article by Milos Mendel, graduate philologist, from the Czechoslovak Radio in Prague: "From the Critical Hotbeds of the World: The Middle East"--article is written in Czech]

[Excerpts] The Middle East is one of the areas that for decades have justly been in the center of the world public's attention. This interest is mostly due to the stormy political developments which, generally speaking, result from the confrontation between the Arab countries and Israel, between the Arab countries and imperialism and Zionism. We will refrain from analyzing here the political connections of this conflict, for we can follow them daily in the media. However, this conflict is closely bound to the social processes in the Arab world. And, let us confess, it is not always easy to analyze their internal mechanism and their development trends.

## The Peculiarities of the Social Structure in Arab Countries

In Europe, the process of society's complete transition from feudalism to capitalism lasted for several centuries. In the Arab world it was slightly delayed for various reasons and is actually taking place today in most Arab states. Thus, it is only natural that the social and political spectrum in the present Arab world is very multi-faceted and unstable.

The Arab world can be pictured as a single vast battlefield of social classes and their ideologies, even though the latter are often very unclearly defined. This is connected with the fact that the ascension of capitalism in the Arab world is taking place under substantially different international political conditions than those existing during capitalism's ascension in Europe.

The class struggle in the Arab world is taking place on two basic levels: within the framework of each Arab state, and on the level of inter-Arab relations. The process of a clear class differentiation inside the individual Arab countries on the one hand, and the interstate conflicts on the other--these are currently the basic objective development features of the Arab world. (Footnote 1.) (A.A. Georgiyev: The Counterrevolution in Egypt and

Certain Issues of the Arab Liberation Movement. Peoples of Asia and Africa, 980, No 5, p 140) This differentiation can be expected to deepen, depending on the way the process of shaping the modern nations and national states progresses.

### Is Arab Unity Possible?

This brings us face to face with the term "Arab unity." Arab nationalism understands it differently from the way, for instance, maintained by our press. In speaking today of the need of Arab unity, we primarily have in mind the political solidarity of Arab countries with regard to Israel or to world imperialism. Arab nationalism has also begun implementing the idea of unity under the influence of the external pressure exerted by European colonialism; but this idea is far more broadly, somehow more "spiritually" defined. Arab nationalists are promoting the vision of a united "Arab nation", in which they include the entire population living on the territory of Arab states.

During the years between the wars, if one spoke of creating a common front against colonialism, then this front was to be cemented on the basis of a reassessment of all the positive things given by Arabs to the world (the language of the Koran; the Islamic religion; the cultural legacy). In the fight against "materialist colonialism," the Arabs were meant to lean on these spiritual weapons which would prove their civilizational greatness. By stressing its own glorious past and its socio-cultural and religious linkages, pan-Arabism strove, at least theoretically, to balance out the technical supremacy of Colonial Europe.

It was only after World War II that this idea of Arab unity was reinforced by various opinion on economic integration and on the common course against Israel. However, let us not forget that, in the understanding of many Arab savants, Arab unity should also be manifested in a common stand with regard to "atheistic communism." (Footnote 3) (Nationalism in Contemporary Africa, Moscow, SCIENCE 1983, p 156)

It is currently worth paying attention to the revival of the idea of "Great Maghreb" (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, possibly Libya and Mauritania). However, no feverish diplomatic activity or endeavors to overcome protracted political disputes need necessarily guarantee success, because each of the interested countries approaches this idea from completely different positions. The common reason for reviving Maghreb unity is the strong deterioration of the economic situation and the drop in living standards due to the economic crisis of the West. Nevertheless, the economic and ideological differences between the Maghreb countries are far too abyssmal for one to have cause to believe that this attempt, in particular, will be successful. Moreover, the entire area lies in the center of neocolonialism's attention; and the North African regimes have totally different opinions on its practices. The positive elements lies in the endeavor to begin with economic integration and with resolving mutual political discrepancies. But regional economic cooperation can be successful only if the economic mechanism in the individual countries is successful and healthy. And Maghreb's economic potential is relatively weak for satisfying the society's needs while at the same time flexibly



adjusting to the needs of the whole. In this connection certain Maghreb countries are speculating with orienting themselves toward the capitalist monopolies, which should revive the reproduction of capital in the entire area by their investments.

As regards the political settlement, here, too, one cannot expect any revolutionary changes. Were the Morocco regime to renounce its rights to the territory of Western Sahara, it would turn against itself all the nationalist streams which expressed their support for it particularly in this issue. Probably no state in the area would like to adjust its system according to the notions of Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, top Libyan representative; and he in turn would not agree to any economic rapprochement with the West, to the extent that is daily practiced by Tunisia and Morocco.

In this way the realization of Arab unity is not a realistic possibility today, even though one should support the idea of a temporary anti-imperialist solidarity on the political level.

If we sum up, we can see that in the eighties we are witnessing a troublesome situation in the Arab national liberation movement. Today the individual ruling regimes and political forces prefer maintaining their own ideological and action independence to unity in the interests of the common fight against imperialism and Zionism. This polarization is a totally unavoidable objective process, which is destroying the nationalist idea on Arab unity and on a "class conciliation" in the name of the "Arab revolution." In fact, we have here a phase of the Arab society's development in which the factor of the struggle against the external enemy is being pushed behind the escalation of the class conflict both inside the individual Arab countries, but also on an all-Arab scale. Of course, this state of affairs is creating scope for Israel's aggressive policy, and facilitating U.S. penetration into the Middle East. (Footnote 8) (A.A. Georgiyev, Counterrevolution in Egypt, quoted work, p 143)

#### The Background of the Split in the Palestine al-Fatah Organization

The cited issues of polarization in the class structure and of the crisis of Arab unity are closely tied to the current split in the ranks of the al-Fatah organization, this largest component of Palestinian resistance. The Palestinian resistance is a typical example of the national liberation movement which is not formed on purely class or ideological foundations. It is a conglomerate of all social classes and strata which have joined forces in the common fight against Israeli Zionism. The substantial thing is that the moving force of the resistance lies in the Palestinian small and middle bourgeoisie which had been forced, by the objective conditions in past decades, to a certain radicalization of its stands and to a temporary merging with the people's strata. It is exactly because of its popular nature and of the considerable linkage with leftist forces that the Palestinian revolution is the object of pressure by certain Arab nationalist regimes.

The common endeavor for a return to the fatherland of which they have been robbed has nevertheless not rubbed out the class character of the Palestinian society or the complicated political spectrum of the resistance. The present split in the al-Fatah ranks shows that we have here an outright class conflict. One of its streams is represented by the bourgeois summit in the resistance leadership. This group prefers political maneuvering among all interested Arab countries in the endeavor to acquire territory for founding an independent state.

Against it stands the radical petty bourgeois components of al-Fatah, who accuse the leadership of personal enrichment of corruption, of isolating itself from the Palestinian masses and of politicking. They demand the "restoration of democratic principles and the return to a collective leadership of the resistance." (Footnote 9) (From the Declaration of Abu Musa to REUTER on 18 October 1983) However, because of the split, the resistance has been substantially weakened, and the PLO has even temporarily ceased to operate as a significant factor in the current political battle in the Middle East.

Regardless of the appraisal of the political connections of the present situation in the PLO, we are confronted here by a social process, the general features of which have been depicted here. The temporary political solidarity provoked by the external enemy retreated as soon as the process of class differentiation in the Palestinian society reached a certain stage. For the Palestinians, who are not developing into a modern nation within the borders of a state formation, the growth of the class struggle among their own ranks in the given historic phase can have serious consequences. The shift of a part of the resistance leadership to increasingly rightwing positions, and on the other hand, the growing radicalization of the petty bourgeoisie and of the people's masses, will obviously continue. In this way the Palestinian revolution is becoming increasingly vulnerable. As the key component of the present phase of the Arab national liberation movement, it has a great responsibility; and, from the political viewpoint, the unification of its ranks is the unavoidable prerequisite of its continuing to live.

#### Islam in Political Life

The Islamic religion is the most significant expression of social awareness in the Arab world, and simultaneously one of the most important components of the nationalist understanding of the Arab nation and Arab unity. Exactly because of its viability, Islam is more or less actively participating in the political life of the Arab countries. (Footnote 10) (Nationalism in Contemporary Africa, quoted work, p 158)

A more significant penetration of Islam into the political scene a few years ago evoked reflections about a "renaissance of Islam" or about "Islamic revivalism" in our press. The term "renaissance" is imprecise, since it was not a process of reviving a dead or dying religious system. We have here merely one of the phases of a long-term process of the Islamic reformation movement, which can be noted from the end of the 18th century and which gradually assumed various forms, in keeping with the social conditions of this or that Arab country.

The new entry of Islam into politics has various shapes, which again follow from the nature of the class structure of the Arab world. It is again becoming obvious that the concept of Arab nation and Arab unity, based on the unity of religion and of the attitudes to life which follow from it, is totally idealistic and untenable. The current developments in the Arab countries confirm this every day.

In the same way that Arab nationalism itself has both positive and negative aspects, Islam's influence on the political scene also has two aspects. In certain countries it is the tool of monarchist and other conservative forces in the interests of retaining political power and prestige among the religious population (Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Maroc). On other occasions it may become the support of the religious people's strata and of the bourgeoisie, which revolt against the present political practices of the bourgeois and revolutionary-democratic regimes. By this we primarily mean the activity of the Muslim brotherhood and other militant religious organizations in Egypt, Syria, Algeria, Sudan, Lebanon, and Tunisia. These kinds of religious activity stand in contrast to the regimes which, to various degrees have included Islam in their revolutionary democratic concepts. The objective conditions have forced all the, otherwise quite secular, regimes to do this--Algeria, Egypt, Syria, and even the Government of the PDRY, which has a Marxist orientation. Both the revolutionary and reactionary infringements of economic structures are justified in the name of Islam. In the name of Islam, the Holy War (Jihad) is proclaimed both against the Muslim brotherhood (Syria in 1979), and against the communists (Sudan, Saudi Arabia); against Israel and the United States; and against the Soviet Union. The Islamic slogans used as arguments, no matter whether sincerely or quite pragmatically, have weight and are capable of setting certain strata of the society in the Arab countries into motion or of winning their loyalty.

Let us cite a few specific examples:

An interesting stand in this respect is maintained by the top Libyan representative Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi in Libya. His opinions--formulated first in the Third World Theory (1973), and later worked out in the three parts of the Green Book (1977-79)--are a mixture of the ideas of Arab nationalism, which are based on al-Nasir's legacy, and of a reformed interpretation of Islam, which is interspersed with a number of revolutionary and democratic elements al-Qadhdhafi is not so much relying on the socialist concepts of the 19th and 20th centuries as on egalitarianism and democracy of the society of Bedouin tribes. The endeavor to involve the people as broadly as possible in the solution of state affairs (principle of direct people's power) has its specific manifestations; nevertheless, it contains numerous progressive elements, such as the speedier growth of the Libyan's national awareness, the improvement of educational standards, and the general democratization of public life. The social reforms of the Libyan regime are objectively progressive.

As an example of a totally different use of Islam in the interests of the reactionary, corrupted military government, we can cite the current situation in Sudan. Under the rule of General Ja'far Numayri, it drifted into an

economic and social situation which has forced it to distract the attention of its ordinary citizens from the ripe problems and to secure the loyalty of the religious opposition. Already several years ago one could follow the rapprochement between Numayri and the conservative circles which have traditionally an important say in Sudan's political life. These circles particularly include the adherents of the al-Umma party--headed by Sadik al-Mahdi, grandson of the leader of the Mahdi uprising toward the end of last century--and also the influential Sudanese faction of the Muslim brotherhood. By making concessions to these forces, Numayri wanted to make sure of their favors and of their assistance against the influential Communist Party of Sudan. Last September Numayri's servility culminated in the proclamation of the Islamic legal code (Shariya) as the only source of legislation. Although certain strata of the population received this decree with enthusiasm, Sadik al-Mahdi declared that, for moral reasons, he could not agree to it. He said verbatim: "The Sudanese believers surely do not think, after their bitter experience, that Numayri is God's shadow on Earth. His ostentatious piety is, in reality, a calculated political maneuver." (Footnote 12) (Lebanese leftwing periodical AL-KIFAH AL-ARABI [spelling as published] of 18 October 1983)

In the case of Libya and Sudan, Islam operates as the means for making political power legitimate. In al-Sadat's Egypt things were no different; but there it was exactly from the Islamic positions that the social revolt grew up which in the end cost al-Sadat his life. Under the conditions of a deteriorating economic situation and of the crisis of life values which follow from this, an increasingly larger part of Egyptian society has begun to lean toward religion as the only ideology in which it can find a satisfactory answer to its desperation and apathy. The typical feature of life in Egypt in the second half of the seventies was the reading of religious literature, both legal and forbidden; and the joining of mystical orders (sufiyya), in which people searching for a way out of the unpropitious reality devote themselves to asceticism and self-denial. Various practices of popular Islam have become rampant, such as magic, or the regular attendance at seances in which people get into a special ecstatic state. (Footnote 13) (Middle East Annual Review, 1980, p 263) Egyptian sociological studies point out that this form of social life is particularly widespread among the city youth, among the technical intelligentsia, and among army officers. This process increasingly crystallized into a form of political protest. President al-Sadat strove to ward off the growing religiousness of the masses, as Numayri did; but the endeavors for an Islamization of public life that was sanctified by the government have understandably met with the resistance of the parliament, which was completely in the hands of secular bourgeois strata. When, al-Sadat decided to attack all the opposition forces, including the Islamic ones, in September 1981, he became the victim of assassination on 6 October. Current developments in Egypt testify that it is merely a question of time until those religiously-oriented opposition movements again undertake political action.

We see that probably all the political streams, ruling regimes, opposition parties, people's organizations, religious sects, and national liberation movements are resorting to Islam. The exception are solely the members of

Arab communist parties and of certain other leftwing parties. Of course, their ideological principlemindedness is a considerably limiting factor in the effort to forge ties with the people's masses and to introduce one's own opinions into the Arab national liberation movement.

Thus, Islam is not in the least acting as a unifying factor for shaping an "Arab nation" in the life of the Arab countries. Although it is a significant feature of the social awareness of the modern nations that are being formed, it is completely subordinated to the process of their class differentiation. The influence of Islam is expressed in the fact that almost all strata of the society are taking it up in the class struggle—even those which, by doing this, are merely paying tribute to the social reality since they want to keep in power.

In the field of Arab unity, Islam is asserting itself in certain formal manifestations, such as the statesmen's verbal appeals for a common action in the name of Islam, or the statesmen's joint prayer during Arab summit conferences, or the joint course of certain countries at the sessions of the Islamic conference organization, and so forth. However, the differences of opinions during these sessions are in fact proof that Islam will not assert itself as the unifying factor of Arab nationalism.

As we already stated, the Arab world does not develop in an isolated way; it develops in close linkage with general developments in the sphere of the international economy and politics. The typical lack of ideological crystallization in the Arab bourgeoisie and its pragmatic approaches to the surrounding sphere, or the search for some "third road" between capitalism and socialism—all these are the reason why it is sometimes so difficult to envisage the attitudes of certain Arab regimes or political parties.

Anyway, in the current development of Arab nationalism, one can pinpoint two basic tendencies. In places where conservative monarchist regimes or strata of the parasitic or comprador bourgeoisie, are in power (al-Sadat's Egypt, the rightwing circles in Lebanon), one can expect a linkage of these forces with imperialism. It is also among them that the United States is looking for support in its attempts to dominate the Middle East. In places where the revolutionary movement has reached the stage of liquidating the large bourgeoisie, scope has been established for the revolutionary-democratic transformations inspired by the national petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia, which are already operating in a far tighter linkage with the consciousminded strata of the people's masses. In their own interests, these forces adopt anti-imperialist stands (Algeria, Syria, Libya). These regimes have their own concepts of the society's development which, in their contents, go far beyond the framework of capitalism because they are enriched by the practice taken over from the experience of the countries of real socialism—particularly in the sphere of political economy. The experience acquired by the revolution in the PDRY shows that a sensitive application of scientific socialism in an Arab country is possible—thus fully affirming Lenin's theory on the transition of the feudal society to socialism without the capitalist stage of development. The Arab countries with a noncapitalist orientation are, despite all the objective difficulties, objectively a component of the world revolutionary process. That is why they enjoy the full support of the socialist countries.

CSO: 2400/336

## VATICAN CITES GLEMP ON CHURCH, STATE RELATIONS

LD142131 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1415 GMT 14 May 84

[Excerpts] Yesterday, despite unfavorable weather conditions, the traditional procession took place in Krakow to mark St Stanislaw Day. The procession led from Wawel Cathedral to the church of St Michal on Skalka.

During the ceremony the sermon was delivered by the primate, Cardinal Josef Glemp. Referring to the gospel about the good shepherd he defined the qualities of a contemporary good shepherd.

Continuing his sermon the primate referred to the death of St Stanislaw and said that today, from the distance of centuries, one can attempt to reflect on a more general background to the historical conflict, and on mutual relations between church and state. Next, he developed the thought that Christ's church is in the world but not of the world. He said we should obey God more than man, and the church's guidelines contain Christ's saying: Render unto Ceasar what is Ceasar's, and to God what is God's. The church was grown on that basis.

All of history, which has been recording the development of communities and the church the primate said, has been a continuous effort to settle relations between the autonomy and spirituality of the church, and the autonomy of the state. In this historical march the church has never been comfortable for the lay authority. On the contrary, it often created great problems which had to be solved in each epoch, and by each country as best as possible. Today, we can see that in the great majority of countries there is in force a formula separating the church from the state, but the formula is so capacious that it does not solve the entire problem because it can contain goodwill and cooperation, and intolerance and the struggle and attempts to liquidate the church.

Next, Cardinal Glemp described contemporary models of relations between the church and the state, by giving the following examples: The first model is liquidation of the church carried out gradually in various ways. The second model desires the death of the church and the faith but, by preserving it, it hopes to make [it] so limited as to be completely subordinated to social rules in a particular country. The third model rests on mutual trust, on goodwill, and on creating opportunities for cooperation toward the common good. This model is supported by the Second Vatican Council.

It should be said, the primate continued, that in our memory in the post-war period, there were attempts to introduce all three models. However, the church which lives the life of Christ's spirit, cannot always fit models invented by man.

My dear ones, Cardinal Glemp continued, we are faced with basic and principal questions: Is it possible in a state ruled by Marxists, materialists, to recognize the autonomy of spiritual values? Is it possible that those, who not so long ago wanted to liquidate the church or completely subjugate it, now wish to recognize its rights, and work toward the achievement of the common good, thus to share the achievement of good? They say this issue has happened for the first time in the world. What are those Poles going to achieve? Indeed, as a nation we have great courage to do daring and sometimes very dangerous things. Napoleon, when the Polish cavalry took Somosierra Gorge, allegedly said that nothing is impossible for Poles.

Last year, when we were expecting the arrival of the holy father, there were opinions that in the existing conditions the holy father's visit was impossible. But we said that this is in the hands of the holy mother. If she wants it everything will be possible. The second papal visit was possible, and was even more splendid than the first one. And now we are waiting for the third visit, and we think that it will be better than the second one.

My dear ones, the church lives within its people, and works without waiting for what models will be prepared for its external relations, because the church lives by the Holy Spirit, which rules the church. Nothing is impossible for God. In this faith we persist, we live, we trust, and we go forward. The church does not serve itself; it serves the community [word indistinct]. But it serves not under someone's dictate, but as was ordered by Jesus Christ.

In its existence and operation within the nation, the church must first of all be itself, which means it must pray because prayer is the strength of the church. A church without prayer would be a weak church. And because we pray, we have a strong and authentic church. By its prayer the church must adhere to the gospel and to Jesus Christ who is the bread of eternal life.

CSO: 2600/994

SIWAK ADOPTS CONTROVERSIAL ROLE

AU060730 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 31 May 84 pp 1, 3

[Interview given by Albin Siwak, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the PZPR Central Committee Suggestions and Complaints Commission, to Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "I Prefer Being Controversial"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Naleszkiewicz] You are a worker and have wide contacts in this milieu, and you also know what the social mood is like because you listen to people's complaints. Does the workers class feel as if it is the helmsman in our state?

[Siwak] The workers still realize their value as a class and have been aware of it for tens of years. Recent years have strengthened the sense of their own power.

[Naleszkiewicz] But this class then also turned against socialism.

[Siwak] Let us be more precise. They did not turn against socialism, only against the distortions of socialism. Their ranks also included the enemies of the system. However, let us remember that our workers class is not uniform. In 1945-50 when I started to work, there were about 1.5 million of us workers. But they were tough, stalwart people who were very aware of the class-based system. One could also feel this class-based spirit in every word, movement, activity, and decision that was made. Today, on the other hand, this class numbers 7-8 million people who are educated and have a high level of technical training and wider horizons. It is a class that is still very young because 57 percent of them are still under 30 years of age. The majority of them come from peasants families, although I also know some workers of great worth who come from the intelligentsia. This is why today's workers class is decidedly different from the one that existed at the inception of the PPR. Part of this class still has what I call "messed up" minds, because these workers listen to everything they hear. They listen to what the government, the party, their families, the church, Radio Free Europe, and rumours have to say. As a result of this the heads of these young people are filled with ideological chaos. Therefore, it is difficult for them to oppose the things that are at odds with their class-based interests.



[Naleszkiewicz] Does the fact that you are a worker make your political work easier?

[Siwak] Yes and no. It makes it easier in social issues as well as ideological ones. This is thanks to my frequent contacts with people and workers. It is often the case that the director of a plant only finds out that I have arrived after I have been in the departments with the workers for a couple of hours. I visit plants without a retinue of people following me. People speak with me sincerely, often calling me by my first name, quite casually. Such contacts with work forces are exceedingly helpful to our work in the Politburo.

However, when we are discussing difficult economic or scientific matters, then the level of our knowledge does not suffice--and then it is difficult. We ask a lot of questions in these matters, and we must also trust our educated comrades who are fully conversant with these issues, although our direct and simple view of things often helps.

[Naleszkiewicz] You are a popular but controversial figure. In 1981 Solidarity launched a sharp attack against you. People either like you, or they cannot stand you. I have not met anyone who is indifferent. Why is this? There was, after all, the incident when you were greeted at a plant mass demonstration with the jeers of the workers, and after a 4-hour meeting you were bid farewell with bravos and applause, including that of Solidarity.

[Siwak] There was a group of journalists among our correspondents who were interested in "making" me popular. Stefan Bratkowski publicly stated at a pre-congress commission session that a worker like me cannot hold my own against him. He then said that his journalist friends will destroy me. The Central Committee members present "booed" him for that, but the fact remained. I was then made to look stupid many times, and people even took advantage of the disability I received during the war. This went beyond the limits of a political contest. There was, therefore, a group of people who wanted to make a dunce out of me, someone who cannot perceive reality. They said that someone writes all my speeches and that someone else thinks for me. And then it appears that Siwak goes to a so-called trouble spot and in 4-5 hours he manages to convince them that they agree with the arguments he is making. I did this without any notes or prompters.

You say that some people like me. This is also somehow understandable, but do not think I am being bumptious or immodest, because everyone respects and values people who are ideologically resolute and consistent. Many people will follow such a person, one who does not dodge obstacles or change his opinions like a chameleon. I have presented the same program for several decades now and the same ideology--that of Marxism-Leninism--without hesitation or fluctuation. That is the whole secret to the controversy--besides which uncontroversial people are boring.... Moreover, anyone who has a managing function conferred on them will become controversial, and the leadership of the PZPR Central Committee Suggestions and Complaints Commission is such a function.

[Naleszkiewicz] Comrade, you are a very hard chairman. This probably does not make you popular with friends.

[Siwak] Hard? What does that mean? I am resolute and consistent, and such an attitude earns a man both friends and foes. If I find any abuses, then I do not hesitate to expose them regardless of what level they were committed on, be they theft, bribery, or favoritism. Nor do I hesitate in proposing steep sentences for offenses. The person who has been punished incites his contacts and makes pacts to harm me, but then the other side of the coin--the ordinary people--applaud. Everyone appreciates it when we manage to punish a scoundrel, and I sometimes manage to do this. If such an attitude is termed as being controversial, then I would prefer to be controversial.

[Naleszkiewicz] What does it mean to be a communist?

[Siwak] To me it means to do everything that is necessary for life, work, existence, and improving our system, to work not only for the workers class, but simply for people. To be a communist means to be in Solidarity with those who are weaker, to understand the unfortunate, and not only those in our own country. My work in the commission depends not only on listening to the complaints of the unfortunate, those who come to the party only when they have completely lost hope. How many steps have I taken to send sick people abroad for treatment, how many children needed help to find a place in a children's home, how many old parents did I have to help get into an old people's home, parents whose children often have a suitable job in Warsaw? One must be sensitive to every human wrong and try to oppose it. That is also what being a communist means.

CSO: 2600/999

GLOWCZYK SPEAKS TO JOURNALISTS IN LUBLIN

AU301415 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26/27 May 84 pp 1-2

[PAP report: "Journalists in the Service of the PPR"]

[Excerpts] The slogan "journalists in the service of the PPR" was the leading theme of the commemorative plenum of the Main Administration of the PPR Journalists' Association which met on 25 May in Lublin--a town that performed the function of Poland's capital for 164 days 40 years ago at the beginning of the PPR.

The plenum was attended by Jan Glowczyk, Politburo candidate member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, as well as by Bogdan Jahacz, director of the PZPR Central Committee Press, Radio, and Television Department.

In Lublin, where everything "was first," Polish journalism was also revived.

Jan Glowczyk took the floor during the discussion. Stressing the great and unquestionable achievements of the PPR, whose programmatic nucleus was the Manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation, he indicated the importance of journalists as documentarians and chroniclers of the 40-year history.

Polish journalists have from the dawn of the PPR, connected themselves ideologically with the reconstruction of the country and the building of the socialist system, Jan Glowczyk said. Although they constitute quite a small social group, they have made an enormous contribution, in view of their numbers, to the reconstruction of the country's contemporary shape. This stems from their feeling of coresponsibility for the cause of the homeland and their citizen-like attitudes, but also from the specific function they perform in the division of social labor. This function is informing people.

Informing people is not only being in contact with one's readers or listeners. It is also an important, although not the only way, of organizing social ties, as well as the party's ties with the masses. We know how weak these ties became in the seventies and how this was connected with the low quality of the information in circulation in society, both concerning those at the top as well as the bottom, visa versa, and between social classes and groups. One can observe, J. Glowczyk continued, in the discussions that have taken

place and those that are still going on about this subject in the journalistic milieu, two extremely different opinions. One aims to make politicians solely responsible for this situation, while the other aims to make journalists solely responsible. We cannot agree with either of these extreme opinions, because the first treats journalists instrumentally, while the other treats them completely autonomously. Journalists do not create political, economic, or social facts. Their duty is to interpret, comment on, and organize them. And this is where a journalist's duty begins, because he has an influence through his work on the most sensitive material--human consciousness. He builds up this consciousness for many long years, and this is precisely his only, permanent creative work.

J. Glowczyk reminded the plenum's participants that opinion polls indicate the reports issued on the events at home and abroad are received by 80-90 percent of Poles on the television, 71-75 percent on the radio, and 63-67 percent from the daily papers. A considerable majority of those polled continue to believe that the picture of the country that journalists depict is glossed over or simplified. Therefore, despite the fact that we have done so very much to reconstruct our ties with our readers, J. Glowczyk stressed, journalism still has much to do to make up for lost time.

Journalists use the superiority of the political principles of socialism as guidelines and by so doing, they must also find some objective justification for as well as understand the decisions the state makes that are ungrateful and difficult, but necessary.

In order to meet the effects of a growing social awareness and society's political aspirations, J. Glowczyk continued, it is necessary to give more initiative to and increase the role of the press, radio, and television as an instrument of social control over the practice of social and economic affairs. Our party treats press criticism as one of the important elements of socialist renewal and socialist democracy. We will take care that the conditions governing the development of press criticism are increasingly improved, and that journalists have fuller access to information sources.

The attitude taken to criticism, both by economic activists and administration workers, as well as by journalists themselves, must stem from the interests of the whole of society, and not the interests of ministries or regional bodies. Honestly disseminated information has an important influence on the effectiveness of press criticism and criticism is only effective, J. Glowczyk stressed, when it is based on proven facts that encompass reality in all its complexity. Only such publications do not present disinformation to society. This increased sphere of critical freedom should go hand in hand with a sense of responsibility for the written word.

Referring to the forthcoming 16th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, whose main theme will be the party's ties with the workers class, J. Glowczyk concluded, that in looking for an ideological compass, journalists should always remember that a concept like "truth" also has a class-based nature, and that the main guideline of Polish journalism is--the truth of the workers class as only this signifies progress, development, and respect for humanity and its work.

DRAGOSLAV MARKOVIC INTERVIEWED ON LCY PROBLEMS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 1 May 84 pp 8-13

[Interview with Dragoslav Markovic, chairman of the LCY Presidium, by the editor-in-chief and staff writers of DANAS: "Communists Operate With Arguments"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Dragoslav Markovic, chairman of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, received the editor-in-chief and newsmen of DANAS and in a lengthy conversation answered several questions about the LC and its responsibility and role in the future development of the system of socialist self-management and of the Yugoslav community as a whole.

[Question] For some 10 months now during a period of crisis for our economy which has had an impact on the state of the entire society, you have chaired the highest leadership body in the party. At what points, in your opinion, has the LCY leadership been up to the challenges, and at what points has it failed and not been able to give more?

[Answer] One can above all speak about the work of the LC leadership over a lengthy period since the 12th LCY Congress. Why relate that to the chairman of the LCY Presidium? I would say that the LCY Central Committee and its other bodies of leadership have been oriented in that period toward performing the tasks set by the 12th congress. There have been results, some of them important, some not so important. Whether they have been positive or negative, they are not and could not be a consequence solely of the commitment of the leadership; they are a consequence of the commitment and the vigor of the LC as a whole. Of course, there is no doubt that the LC leadership does have an influence on that vigor of the entire membership of the LC. I would say with respect to the LCY Central Committee that it has been concerned in this period with essential matters. Most of the meetings have been devoted precisely to what is today the vital question of our society--it has been concerned with the policy of economic stabilization. It is very important to emphasize that the organized and deliberate effort to adopt the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program began with an initiative of the 12th LCY Congress and that the LC and its leadership have been the most deeply involved in that effort.

At the same time, the initiative for a critical analysis and reassessment of the functioning of the political system also dates from that period. The first documents have already been drafted, and I think we are entering a phase of broad scientific, professional and political discussion of this topic. That is, with respect to the orientation, placing that question at the focus of attention, I think that both the LC and its bodies of leadership have had the appropriate orientation. To this we should also add the important meeting of the LC on international policy, on the struggle to strengthen the country's independence, and then a whole number of international contacts of the LCY and other sociopolitical organizations which were oriented in that direction. The orientation, then, has been good, but one can ask whether the results have always been adequate. In any case they have not signified performance of every task that was set. To what extent this is a consequence of objective situations and the difficulties we are passing through, and to what extent this is an expression of certain shortcomings in the leadership of the LC, and accordingly shortcomings in the LC itself, must be established by concrete analysis, which will perhaps show that more might have, or might not have, been done, by so much and so much, and then at what points we fell short and why. It needs to be said, however, that the LCY is not the entity which can take the entire responsibility for the development of society. One must always speak about all the principals in the system, for whose effectiveness it certainly is responsible in view of the level of involvement of its membership.

[Question] You said at one of the joint meetings of the top-level party, government and self-management activ that unity is lacking in the leadership, and then afterward you presented the view that that unity is not constant, that it has to be fought for and sought out at every point where it is important to society. Now a meeting of the LCY Central Committee is being prepared which is supposed to ascertain where the differences exist, to make a list of them, and then to make an effort to overcome them and eliminate them. What do you think will be the foremost issues, and which issues have priority?

[Answer] As for the first question ... I did not speak about disunity in the LC and in the LCY Central Committee. In a conversation in the Socialist Alliance devoted to the tasks of conducting the economic stabilization policy I merely took note of what was said at the 12th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee. That meeting showed that unity does not always exist in connection with carrying out the first phase of economic stabilization, nor indeed concerning those matters on which we previously took positions, and so we concluded that we must go back to them. All of a sudden people were saying: there it is, the chairman of the LC Presidium has said that unity is lacking both in the LC and also in the Central Committee. That might seem to be a small difference from what I said, but it is a large and essential difference. In the LC Presidium we are now preparing for an analysis which would examine all those differences more fully with a view to discussing those issues in a meeting of the Central Committee should it be necessary, or in the Presidium of the Central Committee, or in the commissions through a dialogue.

There is something else that can be said. We have now entered the phase of altogether concrete elaboration of the commitments in principle which were

adopted. At a higher level of their application and concretization certain differences are again becoming evident, and the spokesmen of the differing views, this is what is significant, are referring to the same commitments in principle, to the same documents. The reason for this is that on the one hand some of the positions were stated too much as a matter of principle and too generally in the Long-Range Program, so that they allow that kind of possibility, and probably also because of differing interpretation of the same statement of principle, whereupon dialogue and discussion should show who is wrong.

On the other hand it seems that when today people speak about the unity of the LC there is a resurgence of monolithism, that some people feel that unity should be called forth on every specific matter, in every situation, always and in every phase, so that it is given once and for all; that is not possible. We cannot advocate and fight for democratization within the LC, where in spite of certain results we are still having major problems in building up advance democratic relations, and at the same time experience every difference in every phase of the discussion as an expression of disunity, as a threat to the ideological force of the LC as the sole and united organization of the working class of Yugoslavia.

Reactions of that kind, regardless of the motives, slow down the process of democratization of the LC, since democratization means that in the decision-making process differing opinions and approaches can be heard, that a dialogue, a contest of opinions must take place. However, what kind of discussion is it and what kind of dialogue is it if we all think alike from the very outset. If every dissonant tone is perceived as an attack on unity, then there is no need for dialogue, then we will conduct it as a mere formality, then there will in fact be no dialogue or contest of opinions, and that is the last thing we want.

What is and what should be the reason for concern is that there is not enough dialogue. There is no contest of opinions, there is no democratic discussion. There is not enough responsibility, not enough consistency in carrying out what has been agreed on and decided upon. This is the problem in the LC today, and not some supposed disunity which is spoken about on the basis of this or that differing opinion presented in the phase of reaching agreement and making a decision. This is not to say, of course, that unity as a whole and in full measure exists in the Central Committee, nor does it exist even on certain rather important issues. As for the economic problems today, say, I think that all matters have not been fully cleared up concerning the questions of the foreign exchange system, price policy, and the development concept and plan. In many cases compromise, temporary and step-by-step solutions have been adopted, and everyone has reserved the right to continue to defend some view of his own and to behave in practice in accordance with what has been set forth as the common view by a social compromise, at least temporarily. It is also logical for it to be necessary to thoroughly clear up those matters.

[Question] In the party rank and file there seems to be an illusion to the effect that the highest party and government leadership, by virtue of certain

decisions and meetings and also personnel changes of its own, will overnight change the climate and mobilize all the subjective forces for action. Do you think that it is realistic to anticipate this, and aren't these illusions to the effect that it is possible to go back to certain times long past when that kind of thing was possible?

[Answer] I think that in the manifestations of dissatisfaction toward certain developments and in the demands for more effectiveness there are also demands which objectively, regardless of the good motives, signify a return to some time long past, which would actually signify a major retrograde process. After all, we often hear the slogans: Let the most responsible people in this country come together and let them adopt the necessary decisions. At first this sounds very attractive. However, what is the essence of this demand, who are the most responsible people who are to make the decisions, and what in this case would happen to self-management, to the delegate system, to the entire self-management mechanism of our society. In giving that kind of mandate to a group of people, what would we be doing as to carrying out the concept of a self-managing socialist society, a society of self-managing socialist democracy!?

[Question] The resistance to what has been agreed on as, for example, to the stabilization program which has been adopted, occurs in highly ideologized form, although most frequently its root lies in some particular republic-provincial, regional or sectoral economic interest. These real interests thus become clouded over, and in the practical realm there is a slowing down of implementation of the agreed policy. Do you feel that this is one of the reasons why we have not yet seriously tackled any of the radical undertakings envisaged by the first phase of the long-range stabilization program?

[Answer] You said that it is often a question of differing interests which are ideologized. I think that that is true, and that is not a new practice in our society or in the LC; moreover, when it comes to differing interests, they have sometimes been spoken of as though they were some ancient oriental sin in our society. That is, the entire system is based on respect for the differing interests that objectively exist, assuming, of course, that the common and joint interest will be found once that particular interest has been recognized, and that the particular interest will be respected to the greatest possible degree. It is a greater sin to camouflage that particular interest with some supposed ideological views and so on, as is sometimes done in our country. That is, it would be easier to overcome states of "rigid attachment" to some legitimate partial interest if it did not take a form and expression disguised with the veil of some ideological line of argument.

Communists in our system, as the most conscious part of society, as individuals who see most clearly the prospects of society and have the greatest understanding and grasp of the linkage between the particular interest and the general interest, certainly ought to contribute to that process of building the optimum synthesis. Yet one should not have illusions in this that party members can be altogether immune and free of a partial interest, that they are exclusively representative and advocates of the common interest--like it or not, even they are representatives of certain particular interests of the



community in which they live and operate. They ought to demonstrate their strength and their belonging to the progressive movement and to the LCY by not being captives to a particular interest. There is, of course, not always enough of that, and perhaps that is one of the great weaknesses when we speak about the political-ideological grounding of party members.

[Question] At certain moments this society has sometimes and for all practical purposes been led from above....

[Answer] The process of building this society has not followed a straight line. What had to be done, what was once acceptable since it could not be done otherwise, cannot be repeated today. The demand for arbitration by a group of people is and could be an advocacy for a centralistic system opposed to self-management. That is clear.

[Question] One hears demands in the party, treated as a public, for a wide discussion to be conducted in the League of Communists concerning the key issues of getting out of the economic crisis and the state of stagnation. Although these demands could lead to discussions of what has already been debated, they do contain unambiguous criticism of the present functioning of democratic centralism. How do you view those initiatives and also the proposals for calling an extraordinary congress of the LCY?

[Answer] It is difficult to say which of the issues on which we ought to conduct a general public or general party discussion. If we are talking about the economy and development, the problem is not that we lack answers to such questions. The problem is that we do not yet have the forces to carry them out in practice faster than we are doing today. But yet the upcoming discussion of the functioning and critical assessment of the political system should be truly serious, responsible and should be conducted throughout society. Yet, speaking about implementation of the long-range economic stabilization program, the question is whether we should be so dissatisfied with what has been done in the period so far. I would not say that our results should be underestimated. They are not sufficient, but it is a fact that in society the LC has fought for an awareness and understanding of the complexity and seriousness of the situation in which we find ourselves, that it has fought for an understanding that without increased production it is not possible to spend as much as is being spent, that we must above all be mindful of the capabilities of society, and not just of needs. That is a significant result.

It can perhaps be said that we have not succeeded, either in the LCY or in society, in planting in people's awareness a sufficiently clear and strong realization that we are entering a period of profound and essential changes in our socioeconomic character. The respect for economic laws, the orientation toward the market as the socially objective verifier of the results of work, the orientation toward the real value of money--signify great changes which we will encounter and which we must see through. If we do not undertake this with sufficient forethought, in a well-organized way, there may be great difficulties and problems and the danger of social opportunism might arise. To clarify: if our approach is not sufficiently thought-out and

organized, we could increase the difficulties which are already great; the social welfare and other troubles could compel us to retreat, to undertake an opportunistic attitude such as emerges under such pressure.

The market, of course, as everywhere in the world, must also be corrected by the measures of a defined policy, by the conception of development, by certain general social interests, but even that is a correction carried out above all by economic instruments, by the granting or refusal of credit, by incentives, and not by administrative prohibitions and restrictions.

[Question] There are also some people who think that the LCY, as the party of the working class, has not distanced itself sufficiently from the government and its administration, has not adequately performed the role of a critical vanguard which is always marching out in front of the present and opening up prospects for the future.

[Answer] It has now been 40 years since the victory of the revolution; for 40 years the LC has been the leading force of this society. Except for rare periods of crisis, the party has been performing that leading role under conditions of rapid and dynamic overall development both of the economy and of society. And the real, serious tendency toward bureaucratization of the LC--there was an awareness of that danger--could not objectively be avoided. That is today a problem in the LC which can be overcome by an action in two directions. First of all, by democratization of relations within the LC, by a clearer and more precise placement of the LC in that position which is sketched out in the program and bylaws of the LC and indeed also in the SFRY Constitution. Then also through the self-management development of our entire society, through better functioning of our entire self-management mechanism, the delegate system above all. The Socialist Alliance has a large role in this as the front of the socialist forces.

Meanwhile a certain number of people are somehow passing off the thesis that the LC has ceased to be a vanguard and revolutionary party, that it has become a "party of order." I cannot accept that thesis, since being the leading force in the struggle for the further development of self-management, the system of socialist self-management democracy, and this order, signifies that it is a party of the most revolutionary orientation. To be for the system of socialist self-management democracy, for nonalignment, for independence, for brotherhood and unity--that means that its orientation is the most revolutionary.

Incidentally, I do not agree either with the assessment that the LC is not turned toward the future and is not opening up prospects, that it is not following the steps of social progress. After all, what is the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program but a document that opens up prospects? In the program for implementing it there are even assessments as to what we will achieve if we carry out the program in 1967 and thereafter. It contains a schedule which envisages not only emerging from this situation today, but also a first step into the future.

To what measure the LCY will guarantee in a sufficiently organized way that science and the professional community are involved in the entire process of decisionmaking at all levels—from the work organization to the Federation, that is the subject which can rightly be spoken about in rather critical terms. Today we possess a quality potential in terms of scientific personnel who are not properly utilized. There will be a serious debate of that. I think that a coordinating commission will be created in association with the Federal Executive Council or somewhere else in the Federation to encourage the study and discussion of technological development and of its concept concerning the use of nuclear power, the integration of large technological systems, overcoming the present fragmentation and the attitude toward cooperation and trade with foreign countries in the field of science. As matters now stand, that is a weakness, but not the only one, in our development policy and in our conception of development.

Perhaps the question of the concept of development at the level of the entire country was one of our weak points in the past. As for the concept and system of planning and, along the same line, arriving at a reliable orientation in development, it seems that this is perhaps our weakest point even today.

We dare not, of course, overlook the neglect of ideological and theoretical work in the LCY. The 5th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee was devoted to these matters, and recently in the Presidium of the Central Committee we again examined how the resolutions are being carried out. Certain favorable developments were noted. But we are still noting many deficiencies in the effort being made. An organization of party members in which ideological work has been neglected cannot be the advocate of a progressive orientation, nor can it find support in science and theory and successfully free itself of day-to-day pragmatism. Moreover, if we wish to perform our leading role in the Socialist Alliance by the force of arguments, then the ideological, political and theoretical equipment of the membership becomes a question of the first priority. In another system in which the party operates from positions of power, this can in fact be neglected, but here our point of departure is that communists operate with arguments, through their vision and knowledge, through the clarity of their views. This cannot be achieved unless the membership is equipped in terms of political ideology, in terms of Marxism, as well as in every other way. In that sense I accept some of the observations contained in the question.

[Question] We all speak about the unified interest of the working class. What do you see as the reasons for parts of the LC, in the republics and provinces, and often even in the opstinas, to be rather homogeneously on the side of their own statism and their own bureaucracy, and insufficiently critical toward their own leadership structures?

[Answer] You mentioned the unified interest of the working class. What is the expression of that unity, in what respect is it unified? Is it unified in the sense that the LCY will have a single position concerning interest rates or the foreign exchange system, or some literary debate or the like? It is not here that the unity of the working class is manifested. The unified interests of the working class are socialism, self-management, equality

of the nationalities, the federal system, the country's independence, and it is not true that there are differences only within the working class, between the parts of the LCY, and accordingly between the party members in Croatia, Serbia, and so on. But they also exist between various sectors of the economy, between, say, the manufacturing sector and the raw materials sector, and so on. It is just that we perceive the former differences in the most drastic way, and there are several reasons for that. Decentralization from the level of Yugoslavia has not altogether signified the liquidation of centralism, but to a large extent the lowering of many centralistic-statist functions to a lower level, to the republics and provinces, which, of course, can be overcome through the further development of self-management. This is one characteristic of the situation.

We have already spoken about the manifestations of bureaucratization in the LC. Cases when the party and government grow together and the tendencies which have been mentioned here do exist, above all where centralistic statism is strongest, and that is again at the level of the republics and provinces. Third, the consequence of all this is the inadequate integration and inappropriate functioning of the unified Yugoslav market and the manifestation of autarky and encapsulization of the republic-provincial economies. Probably that is not all.

There are also other elements which cannot be spoken about at any length here, elements which bring about the lack of unity of the Yugoslav market and regional encapsulization. And fourth, there is the multinational composition of our federal community, and, as I said at the outset, differences in interests and in level of development, with all the repercussions for other sectors of social life, are experienced and sensed in a more marked way, and the appearance is created that only in the framework or in the relations of sociopolitical communities is there a lack of unity. It follows from what I have said that this is a problem both of our society and of the LCY, which through the general process of democratization, by strengthening above all the process of pooling labor and capital and linkage on the basis of income sharing throughout the country can be overcome along with all the negative consequences which they bring with them.

[Question] Under the more difficult and complicated conditions for the conduct of economic activity basic organizations of the League of Communists have also been exposed to certain political-ideological controversies. The administrative measures, the tightened room for action, which are particularly harmful to the development of self-management, at times display signs of a lack of resourcefulness and indeed even of passivity. To what extent is this explained by the fact that we are having trouble carrying out what we have agreed on?

[Answer] I am not sure that one can speak about the activity of the basic organization of the LC being hampered and restricted. I think that the opportunities are great, especially in work organizations, and that the tasks and obligations, this we know, are immense today. As a matter of fact, the entire outcome of our struggle depends on the degree to which basic organizations carry a part of the responsibility. As far as the work of the OOSK

[basic organization of the League of Communists] is concerned, I think that there are some other problems involved, manifestations of encapsulization of basic organizations of the LC, exhaustion of their activity on problems of relations within the party, the question of membership dues, discipline, human relations, incidents involving individuals, and so on, while in fact the basic activity of LC members must not be within basic organizations of the LC, but in the workers' council, in the executive board, in the Federation of Trade Unions, in the youth organization, in the delegation, in the delegate assembly, and so on.

There has to be scrutiny of this kind of activity of party members within organizations of the LC, and at the same time they need to be equipped in terms of political ideology to operate in the right way. I would not say that the committees could figure as a restrictive element on such activity. I think that one can speak of a lack of sufficient aid on the part of the leadership of the LC in this kind of orientation of the basic organizations.

So long as we are already speaking about the basic organizations of the LC, there is one problem for which we have not found the right answer, and that is the problem of regional organizations in large urban settlements, in which local communities have not been so instituted as to make it possible for citizens and therefore also party members, to concern themselves in the right way with the life in that neighborhood.

Since a battle is under way for a more committed LC, I think that all types of shortcomings in the basic organizations could have very serious consequences. Nevertheless, here again we are recording certain constructive developments.

[Question] Can you tell us something about how the marked differences in social welfare between individual members of the League of Communists--that is, their personal or group interests--affect efficiency, unity, and indeed even ideological commitments and militance of the LCY as a whole?

[Answer] The past of the LC and of the Communist Party are confirmed by people of the same convictions, of the same ideological preoccupations; these may indeed be people who have different income, different living conditions, and a different position in distribution. However, it is certain that the social composition of the LC has decisive importance to its revolutionary character. The number of workers in the LCY is still not satisfactory, and the number of peasants in the LC is altogether unsatisfactory, and this cannot fail to have consequences. On the other hand the element consisting of bureaucrats and office workers is present in sizable numbers. These are people who are steadily employed and who belong to a category which has had a privileged position under conditions when the principle of remuneration of productive work, of work under difficult conditions, was not consistently applied to them. There is still some of that. Having that portion of the membership in the majority brought a bit of conformism and a bit of a lackadaisical attitude into the LC. Which accounts for the effort that has been under way for the last decade to essentially change the social composition of the LC. The results have not been the best in this respect. Perhaps the slower

enrollment of production workers is being affected by the social composition that already exists. The mentality of office people and bureaucrats is showing its attitude toward enrollment of workers from production proper.

[Question] In connection with the criticism of the 1974 Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, which has timidly emerged within the LC, and has been rather open and aggressive on the part of oppositionist, liberalistic and centralistic-bureaucratic and unitaristic currents, can you tell us whether without those fundamental laws we would today be better able to withstand the difficulties, to have a satisfactory social peace, and in view of the present economic difficulties would we have more nationalism than we now have?

[Answer] I have already said that we are in the phase of working on a critical reassessment of the functioning of the system, in which our point of departure is the 1974 Constitution and all the solutions contained in it and based on it. We are to make a critical analysis of the functioning of the system from every angle and to attempt to find answers to the question of why the stagnation has occurred, say, in the delegate system, in the processes of the pooling of labor and capital, or why the SIZ's [self-managing community of interest] have not yet become in essence what the constitution desired, a form for the free exchange of labor, to debate the question of the place and role of the Federal Executive Council and the relations in the Federation based on the constitution, election procedure, and so on. This is a serious job which cannot be done under the pressure of political slogans and campaigns. This is a serious public job requiring both science and professionalism and politics, and our entire self-management mechanism in a very responsible assessment of what needs to be improved, changed and perfected, if there is anything, and how this should be done.

That job is now being done, we should not prejudice it in any way, we will have every occasion to participate in finalizing the documents, on which work is now beginning even on the details.

The constitution and the Law on Associated Labor severed the roots of nationalism, but not all the roots, precisely because we did not build up the relations completely on the foundations of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor. Today, for instance, exporting producers of finished products and the producers of raw materials are fighting about the foreign exchange system, their disputes between industries, between the advanced and the underdeveloped, and so on. All of this can fuel nationalism, whose economic roots have not been entirely severed. And the reason is precisely that our process of pooling labor and capital is lagging behind and that even in the domain of foreign business transactions we have not raised the process of pooling labor and capital to a higher level. We have severed the main roots of nationalism, but we have not cut them all, mainly because we have not yet built up relations based on the constitution.

[Question] In your opinion does the social peace and the express willingness of our people to make sacrifices signify that oppositionist forces have not managed with their slogans and alternative programs, if such exist, to

disorient segments of the working class? How great is the real danger and strength of those oppositionist currents and tendencies?

[Answer] The most serious danger to rallying certain strata of society against this system is possible on a nationalistic platform. For several reasons. First, it is in that sphere of spiritual consciousness that resurgences of the old last the longest. This is well known, this is not our experience alone. Second, nationalism is being fed from springs that have not yet been cut off. Third, not only do the manifestations of republic statism which have not been overcome result in economic encapsulization and partialization, but the latter in turn also make it more possible for nationalistic tendencies to revive.

Then there is also the influence of the clergy, which in its extracurricular activity and attempts at political involvement is attempting to mobilize believers precisely on a nationalistic basis, against the system and against socialism. I do not think that other platforms of antisocialist activity have any broad possibility whatsoever. Neither the so-called New Left, nor the rightwing forces. Practically speaking, the differences between them are even difficult to detect. After all, neither of them has a clear platform of what they want, but what they have in common is that they do not want this system of socialist self-management. They gather together a number of intellectuals whose point of departure is some kind of messianic and special role of the intellectuals in society, they negate the revolutionary role of the working class, and they are thereby condemned to restricted debating-club discussions, and they seek their strength through reliance on support abroad. That is where their strength is.

[Question] Why are they given so much importance in the public domain?

[Answer] As a society we face economic difficulties and social welfare problems, so that no antisocialist activity, not even this kind, can be underestimated. If certain groups are constantly coming together illegally or semi-legally to talk and listen to slogans to the effect that the LCY is not a revolutionary party, but a party of order, to hear those who want more than one candidate after the model of the multiparty political system, rather than more than one candidate in the delegate political system, then we cannot accordingly be indifferent toward actions of this kind.

Our weakness lies in the fact that these circles and individuals are better organized in using certain forms of expression than our own forces. I would therefore say that it is rather a question of our underestimation than of overestimation of these manifestations and their spokesmen.

[Question] In connection with the situation in Kosovo, at what points have there been consolidation, but not liquidation of all the adverse phenomena, among them the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins, judging by the most recent trial in Belgrade? The Irredenta seems to be resorting to arms and violence. How do you explain that?

[Answer] I think it is not realistic to expect any rapid and definitive results in Kosovo. Whoever anticipates that must be disappointed, must be dissatisfied with the pace of the processes which are taking place there. Nevertheless, the indoctrination has lasted for a long time, for years, and there have been disruptions of the balance of power.

Regardless of the degree of consolidation that has been achieved and of the essential changes in the balance of power, the remnants of that indoctrination persist and will persist for a long time. Given that kind of development, the Irredenta has relinquished the capability for political activity on any large scale and has been forced to opt for illegal activity. In time that space open to it will also be reduced through political action above all, but also with other measures. I think that an important phase in the process of stabilization in Kosovo is now behind us. The prerequisites have thereby been created for further, more essential, and more serious social undertakings in building social relations which over the long run will prevent any antisocialist activity which would rely on broad support, though, of course, incidence and excesses are not precluded even in the coming period.

[Question] Has an awareness of what counterrevolution in Kosovo means penetrated everywhere?

[Answer] I think it has. Quite naturally there is a somewhat greater interest in certain communities, but an awareness that an attack on any part of Yugoslavia concerns Yugoslavia as a whole, that the battle in Kosovo is being fought for this system, for this constitutional order, is evident and is clearly manifested throughout the entire country.

[Question] The holiday of labor, May Day, will soon be here as well as the fourth anniversary of Comrade Tito's death. Were you to write a proclamation to the working people and citizens of Yugoslavia, what would you personally, in these difficult times, emphasize and place in the foreground?

[Answer] We have entered a very important period of the continuing battle for the development of our socialist self-management in which the struggle to carry out the long-range economic stabilization program does not signify merely overcoming the crisis situations and economic problems we have at the moment, but it signifies a new step in the essential development of our self-management relations. Along that road we will have to travel a section over the next 2 or 3 years which will be rather thorny. I would merely say that this is not the first time that we have been passing through periods of difficulties. We have a program, I am convinced that we also have the forces, and that responsible commitments in the direction we have agreed on will signify a very large step forward in the general development and indeed also economic development of our society.

7045

CSO: 2800/333



## TANJUG REPORTS POLITICAL CRIME RATE DECLINING

LD232111 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 23 May 84

[Text] Belgrade, 23 May, (TANJUG)--A total of 820 persons were reported for the criminal act of so-called political crime in 1983, which is 4.8 percent fewer than in the previous year. Informing the SFRY Assembly of his activity the federal public prosecutor emphasized that 334,000 persons were reported for all types of crimes in 1983, while there were 125,000 undetected perpetrators of criminal acts, or about 37 percent.

A breakdown of the crime figures shows that most charges were brought for acts against the general security of people and property (more than one fifth), then for acts against property (18.38 percent), against social property (16.63 percent), against the economy (14.25 percent), attacks on lives and causing bodily harm (13.19 percent), and acts against persons performing official duties (5.61 percent). These six categories of criminal acts account for 88.65 percent of the total number of prosecutions.

The tendency towards a decline in the number of persons reported for the criminal act of political crime continued in 1983. In 1982 a drop of 13.8 percent was recorded in political crime in comparison with 1981. It should be said that in 1981 the number of persons reported for political criminal offenses rose significantly almost entirely as a result of the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo. However, the number of persons reported is also declining in Kosovo, by 5.5 percent in 1982 and 24.3 percent in 1983 in comparison with the previous year. Despite this, Kosovo still has the highest number of cases of this criminal act (221 or 27 percent of all persons reported for political crime in the SFRY).

In 1983 there were [figure indistinct] cases of political crime reported in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 26 in Montenegro, 210 in Croatia, 26 in Macedonia, 54 in Slovenia, 162 in Serbia (exclusive of the provinces), 17 in Vojvodina and 221 in Kosovo. There was an increase in the number of cases reported in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia, while in all other areas the number of cases in falling.

The greatest number of persons were reported for criminal acts against the foundations of the socialist self-managing social system and against the security of the SFRY--780 or 95.1 percent, of whom 220 persons were reported in Kosovo alone. It should be said that persons reported for criminal acts in

the area of political offenses account for only 0.25 percent of the total number of persons reported for criminal acts.

Of the groups uncovered in Kosovo in 1983, particularly prominent were the 14 members of "Albanikos" which had been carrying out hostile activity in the area of Kosovska Kamenica since 1981. This group, in addition to writing slogans and procuring a variety of hostile written material, also drew up and duplicated "instructions for conspiracy." The group began burning corn, made preparations for cutting telephone wires, acquired a rifle and three pistols, planned an attack on a school in Ogoste in order to get hold of weapons, and planned to liquidate certain security service workers in Gnjilane.

In February 1983 a group of 13 persons was uncovered which was carrying out hostile activity mainly in Djakovica. It wrote, duplicated and distributed 1,200 leaflets, set fire to a platform set up for the reception of Tito's youth baton in Djakovica on 19 May [year indistinct], and attempted to set fire to a military car. A group of 10 persons, mainly students, was active in Pec (?from) October 1980, and on 3 April 1981 organized demonstrations in Pec and attempted to organize them again on 4 and 11 April of the same year. Hostile groups were also uncovered in Titova Mitrovica, Pristina (two groups), and in the municipalities of Urosevac, Istok, Orahovac, Prizren and Suva Reka.

In Bosnia-Hercegovina a group of 12 persons was active from positions of Muslim nationalism and clero-nationalism. In Montenegro an Albanian together with six minors organized a group under the name of "Besa" with the aim of carrying out murders out of hostile motives towards the SFRY. In Croatia a group of six persons was active in the area of Jastrebarsko, and in Macedonia of group of four minors of Albanian nationality was uncovered.

CSO: 2800/340

CROAT LC BODY MEETS ON CULTURE, CREATIVE WORK

LD241701 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1455 GMT 23 May 84

[Text] Zagreb, 23 May (TANJUG)--The Commission for Ideological Questions and Information of the Croat LC Central Committee organized a conference in Zagreb today on ideological struggle in the sphere of culture and creative work. More than 150 creative workers from the fields of literature, theater and cinema and a large number of participants in the congress of cultural workers of Croatia, held 4 decades ago in Topusko, are taking part. Mika Spiljak, president of the presidency of the SR of Croatia, and several members of the presidency are also taking part in the conference.

Opening the conference Dr Stipe Suvar, chairman of the Commission for Ideological Questions and Information of the Croat LC Central Committee, pointed out that an analysis of creative work in recent years supports the impression of a degree of orchestration of the shrill petit bourgeois clamour against socialism [words indistinct]. Expressing the conviction that those present are people of a genuine left orientation within our communist movement who had left a mark of their own in the field of creative work, Suvar asked all the participants to speak rationally and openly and if necessary be polemical and to make a contribution with their arguments to the struggle of ideas.

Pero Kvesic, the writer, who is a member of the Croat LC Central Committee's Commission, recalled that our society is still a class one and that it is characterized by a Babylon-type multitude of the most heterogenous diversities on a relatively small territory, which were in daily contact and interacted with one another [words indistinct] on the boundary of what we call the West, East and the Third World."

In Kvesic's view the result of this is that our society is a field of battle between various forces and coalitions and a stage on which diverse forces are struggling for the awareness of people and for their souls. Being blind to this fact means being blind to one's own environment and future.

Kvesic went on to say that ideological building presupposes different opinions and views on the part of the exponents of the same class interests and that it does not seek to silence those who think in a different way, but on the contrary calls for the expression of one's own views so that the most rational and promising one of them can win the fruitful confrontation and a synthesis can be

arrived at on a common platform. In this sense ideological building is the prerequisite for a planned ideological struggle and this has been the aim of the conference as well.

Noting that we should not be surprised to see the League of Communists as the main target for all the attacks by the antisocialist forces, Kvesic said that the class enemy's ideological action is assuming new forms and trying to advance along new lines and break into new areas of activity. Efforts and attempts are being made to penetrate the sectors in which public opinion is formed. Kvesic expressed the view that from the point of view of our class interests this is a good thing, because if there is ideological confrontation then the most successful ideological battle is which leaves the vanquished opponent alive, safe in his bourgeois existence, but politically disarmed. If this is to be possible, confrontations should take place on the ideological level and if this in turn is to be possible, the battle has to be fought in public.

Kvesic wondered in this connection whether the emergence of the ideological opposition on the public scene means that it feels it has captured enough positions in society and is strong enough for open confrontation. Replying, to a certain extent, in the affirmative to the first part of the question, in reply to the second he said that their assessment was erroneous. Now we have the opportunity to silence and ideologically disarm them in an open battle for a further period of time. There was a similar outbreak in the seventies and after the collapse of the mass movement they needed more than a decade to try to apply the same tactics on a mass scale again. If we conduct this battle well we can expect at least 10 years of relative peace.

Speaking about the circumstances which could have contributed to the emergence of ideological adversaries on the public scene, Kvesic mentioned the fact that our society had lost several of its most prominent, significant and meritorious personalities--Tito, Kardelj, Bakaric, Krleza and so forth--over a relatively short period of time. The fact that nothing has changed is like a cold shower for those who were waiting for this to happen, but regrettably it has not sobered them up. The ideological clamor which they have started is not more than collective hysteria-type reaction. Owing to this, their ideological offensive is a consequence not only of their erroneous assessment but of the fact that they [have] driven into it by forces more powerful than they are. Now that they have been driven into the open, why should not we avail ourselves of the opportunity, Kvesic asked.

According to Pero Kvesic, our own shortcomings are far more dangerous than our ideological adversaries. These shortcomings are the reason we retreat from areas which they then move into and make use. Our ideological enemies are not only those people who think differently from us but those who do not think at all and aggressively use stupidity and ideological sterility as their ideological platform.

At the end of his speech Kvesic said that we must not allow people to escape from the challenge of free thought into the comfort of greyness and dullness, because every individual with a developed awareness who is free of delusions is a guarantee of our further self-managing socialist development.

During the debate writer Sime Vucetic stressed that writers should not be allowed to be active as writers in our country today unless they are inspired by humanism which, it should be stated openly and freely, stems from the policy of the league of communists and the socialist alliance. He said that when reading numerous books, interviews, poems, dramas, columns, essays and discussion papers he noticed that most authors of that kind of material tend to forget our common national destiny and the revolutionary principle of humanism and instead behave as if they were in the old bourgeois society. In our environment a writer's awareness should be awareness of our destiny, in which the idea of socialism is the shining light. In his view it is every writer's duty to stoically and seriously bear in mind our national destiny, our free national area in which we have lived peacefully since the end of the war. All that we possess--our community, state, self-management--is ours and [words indistinct] Vucetic said.

In the view of Veljko Bulajic the party of sharpened sensibility [as received] did something at its 12th Congress which it had never done before: ignored the important problems and phenomena in culture and omitted any analysis of them, and consequently found itself on the defensive after the congress. In order to be able to create a more favorable cultural climate the league of communists should first eliminate varieties of practice [in] its own ranks, because one cannot have the situation in which a thing is branded as nationalist in one environment but not in another. There should be no bargaining about this.

Journalist Zarko Bozic noted that rightwing and petit bourgeois intelligentsia are in the absolute minority and then went on to ask about the party's attitude to and view of the radical left and dogmatic or simply egocentric intellectuals in our ranks who also create a certain climate. This grouping, as he puts it, often embarks on neurotic battles, accusations and polemics--perhaps, honestly convinced that by doing so they are following a party line, but the message from them has the opposite effect. He backed his view by citing Goran Babic, Lordan Zafranovic, Mira Boglic, Strvo Ostojic and Ivo Druzijanic. These five, in his view, have created much bad feeling in the recent period and perhaps unintentionally [word indistinct] inside the party. They multiply the number of our adversaries and are pushing the party into [word indistinct].

Stipe Suvar reacted to Bozic's statement and appealed to the gathering not to let a row develop at it at the level imposed by the petit bourgeois and anti-communists. Expressing disagreement with the assessment made by Bozic of these five public workers, Suvar said that Bozic had used what was, to say the least, careless vocabulary.

Journalist Pero Pletikosa spoke of the way social influence is exercised in the field of publishing and the press, in which members of the icy are at work and active and yet numerous ideologically unsound books or articles are published. He noted that only one weekly paper DANAS, reported that academician Ivan Supek, a former Zagreb University rector, had published his second book abroad, this time under the title "crown witness against Andrija Hebrang." Asking why no one had wanted to publish it in the country, Pletikosa called for the publication of the assessments on the basis of which the book had been rejected. No one in this country, not even Ivan Supek, should be protected. Everyone should

be responsible for his deeds and ill deeds. Pletikosa expressed astonishment that no one had reacted publicly to the appearance of Supek's book. Though we all know about it, the Yugoslav Academy of sciences and arts is silent, the press is silent, writers are silent, and so on.

Bozidar Gargo wondered how a dialogue could be conducted with the forces which denied us and stressed in this connection that it was possible and, as he said, even legal, to react from the position of power in keeping with the views of the league of communists and other forces which the league united on its ideological basis. This is socialist self-managing rule and it is responsible for a historical project which was inaugurated by the struggle of the progressive forces of society. The rules of behavior should be dictated by the political forces which are on the stage of history. Within this framework, Gargo considers, the method of dialogue must have its maximum meaning. He went on to note in this connection that establishing that opposition exists and countering its methods of struggle does not solve the problem. The renewal of the ideological thought apparatus of the forces which carry and support the socialist project is the best plan of struggle against the opposition as well.

Vanja Sutlica holds the view that our ideological situation is the consequence of neglect of ideological work over a long series of years. There is silence and there is no initiative and then meetings are held based on someone else's initiative, Sutlic said, adding that self-criticism is of decisive importance in this connection. There is too little initiative by Marxist communists in periodicals, in publishing houses, initiatives which would be of a meritorious nature, and this is so because we have taken to hiding ourselves behind the slogan in the LCY program about science and arts being their own judge. Only our enemies and opposition benefit from this slogan, Sutlic said.

Taking the floor, Stevo Ostojic first said that in our environments there are such unacceptable great differences that it looks as if we are not in the same community. He expressed the view that not only do many members not seem to consider themselves bound by the LCY's program, but many texts actually run counter even to the fundamental postulates of our community. Ostojic also commented on the discussion speech made by Zarko Bozic and did not agree with the latter's assessments. Devoting a large part of his discussion speech to the personalities of the director and screenplay writer of the series "Beggars and Sons," Antun Vrdoljak and Ivan Raos, Ostojic ended with the demand that his many years of public work should be weighed before the conclusion is reached that he is a harmful person.

Ivo Druzijanic also reacted to Zarko Bozic's statement, saying that Bozic's action was a model of Stalinist manipulation.

Winding up the debate, Dr Stipe Suvar, chairman of the Commission for Ideological Questions and Information of the Croat LC Central Committee, said that some of the polemics heard during the debate were not the required standard but have not jeopardized the basic aims of the gathering. The national liberation struggle took place as a cultural revolution, as a break with millenia of lethargy. The awareness of the millenium underwent a deep change. Since the liberation of our society has developed on its own in the direction of a new, socialist civilization, whose vertical line lies in a vision and the initial

realization of the liberation of labor, but burdened its entire history, in relation to which the political revolution, however fundamental, cannot represent a complete departure. In the course of this development we have formed a vision of culture as the cultural potential of all human endeavor.

The current social cultural situation is also marked by intensified action by retrograde, conservative, small-town, priestly-clerical, nationalist-genocidal, philistine freedom-loving forces--and their views of the world and society. What we have is the first assault in the field of cheap politics, a quite broad spiritual counterrevolution, which is antipartisan and rightwing, an offspring of and an arm extended into our territory by the crusade-type ideological war being waged in the world against everything that is socialist and communist.

The forces of this counterrevolution indict our revolution, reduce almost our whole recent history to the allegedly bloodstained maniacal, antihumanist and totally undemocratic struggle waged by communists to come to power, in the course of which they supposedly played with the destiny of the people and nations of this country. These counterrevolutionary forces are today rearing their heads to achieve the demystification [as received] of the alleged historical harm done by communists in our country and to dismantle everything which is the communists' work or to their credit. The class and social basis of all this advance by the spiritual counterrevolution is to be found in that section of society which at this meeting we call the petit bourgeois class.

With reference to culture and art, the main item in the indictment is that the freedom of creative work is being stifled and, as you see, Dr Suvar stressed, all this prompted us to have this conversation today, mainly on the theme of this indictment. However, we must not deceive ourselves. What we are really talking about is political misuse of the freedom of creative work, about efforts to wage a struggle for political gains even in the spheres of culture and the arts. Today this activity has reached wider proportions than ever before and it is helped along by the well-known difficulties which have accumulated in our society, as well as by lack of organization, laxness and inertness of the whole of our ideological front.

Speaking about the fact that we who are struggling for the policy of the League of Communists are being accused of resorting to repression and banning, Dr Suvar noted that if a number of writers are in prison today, that, too, is due to conspiracy-hatching and enemy activity.

Summing up the debate, Dr Suvar stressed that we agreed that much of what is alarming us as Marxists or communists, in other words as socialist-oriented citizens, is taking place also because the League of Communists has for a long time--for too long a time--neglected its real tasks and its real methods of ideological struggle. It has allowed its own members to sign and send in various denunciatory petitions with the aim of disgracing us and has allowed no small number of its members to act as "liaison officers" with the political opposition, to open wide the doors of social institutions and newspapers and so on to them. We must call such members of the League of Communists to account and see that they are called to account.

We also agreed about the method--that is, that it must be concerned with the essence and not the people. We do not need bans and we can avoid having them if we use the real methods of ideological struggle: arguments and honesty.

By means of open criticism before the broadest public, before the working class and working peoples, we must rally our people around public programs and clear party policy, not by means of flirting or becoming stifled in our own opportunism, which has in fact brought us into this defensive state.

At the end, Dr Suvar noted that individual speakers had apostrophized phenomena and views in a variety of social and national environments, but that no one meant to name any environments other than their own. "Our conversation illustrates the Yugoslav character of this gathering regardless of the fact that its participants came from only one republic," Dr Stipe Suvar said at the end.

A total of 33 cultural and public workers took part in the 12-hour debate and six submitted written contributions.

CSO: 2800/340

END